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1 JANUARY 1920
1 TO 8

M RESOLUTION.

ANT'S AND MR. GANDHI'S AMENDMENTS.

ASTIC OVATION TO ALI BROTHERS.

L OF GENERAL DYER URGED.

Special Correspondent.)

AMRITSAR, Dec. 31.

orking day of the Congress egan at ten minutes to noon oduction of a resolution by ppreciating the resignation of Nair from the viceregal an hour the audience had ly for the commencement of The president owing to th was absent and Mr. Ab- ointed for him. The whole ntertained with songs. A hort poem from Mrs. Saro- read out by Mrs. Besant. Madras members of the ngress Committee became res- ir impatience broke out in the urst of Mr. Satyamurthi de- hether they had come there to . Dr. Satyapal then commen- serious work. Speaking in erred to the recent nopeless the Punjab and said the action Sir Sankaran was a ray of their hearts.

wamy Aiyangar supported in an intimate knowledge of the Sankaran in Madras. He ribed his services to India. arrived at twelve thirty and y Aiyangar pausing until non-official Governor-Gene- he congress president had is seat, concluded with a in which he pointed out sford had thanked the exit by the announcement in a mperial council that Sir ad resigned for very ho-

i of Bombay further sup- on.

OF JALLIANWALA BAGH.

the very important pro- or the nation t e Jallian- nd appointing a committee as moved by the secretary Congress Committee Pandit isra, in a eloquent speech eferred to the expressions digination in America now the Punjab atrocities had ed States and said now ica would learn what bar- fficials in India had been However, they had provided their political shrine and they d to learn that for the pur- its and for a fitting memorial y practically the whole sum been subscribed.

Arvottamrao from Andhra sup glish. Regarding that part tion which offered respectful tne relatives of those persons r English or Indian in the excesses he said it was just onal spirit of India.

ndji Seth from Bombay speak- rose to the solemnity of the was warmly applauded when hat the hearts of all India weeping for the Jallianwala

am followed him in another He came from Sindh he ancestors were from the Pun- d a religious alliance with the number of Sindhis revered as Guru Govindsingh. He assured indh felt the grief of the Pun- t were its own. Dr. Choithram the heart of the assembly by his eloquence.

Naidu of Madras who was present wala while the firing and the occurred he was not a politician umble educationist assured them crowd had given no offence. It acre without the slightest pro et each province carry a hand- wala dust and build their own let this bag be the central dian political self-realisation. n was unanimously passed.

TT ACT RESOLUTION.

t Act resolution was then put nair and carried. So was sting against Government ac- g the Indemnity Bill prema-

esolution regarding the am- put from the chair. It e hope that the fullest given to the letter and the Royal Proclamation. It was arried. At this stage the reading out a telegram jpat Rai was on his way to left America for England was frantic applause. There was siderable time before the presi- ecide which resolution to put dience awaiting anxiously the p of the reforms proposals

AMRITSAR, Dec. 31.

day of the Christian year of he Indian National Congress of itself faced with a task of the responsibility. It is to decide the reform resolution. The ted and agreed upon by Messrs. as, Satyamurthi and all the na- tionalists from Punjab, Behar, Andhra and Delhi requires a reiteration of the Congress position at Delhi declaring the fitness of the Indian people for immediate self-Government and it demands that Parliament should take early steps to establish such responsible self-Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination. There figure on the agenda two important amendments to this form of the resolution. Mrs. Besant wants to emphasise in hers the substantial steps gained and the thanking of Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha. Mahatma Gandhi supported by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya wants a clear avowal that we shall work to make the reforms a success and they insist on the expression of thanks to Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha like Mrs. Besant. Now it must be understood that what happens in the Subject Committee is strictly private and cannot be given out to the press and the President at yesterday's session severely condemned the conduct of an Indian editor of a Lahore daily in publishing its proceedings. But one can easily and accurately judge what the position as regards various important issues is of the four dominating political groups fighting for ascendancy in the debate. The amendments show clearly that the Subjects Committee which was in session yesterday from the afternoon to well over midnight could not agree in bridging over the gulf separating the views regarding the interpretation of the Reform Act between the thorough going radicals and the advanced moderates. It appears that the more the national leaders meet in council the less they agree to differ. This is evidently considered not a demerit but a merit. The general desire is to meet the wishes of Mr. Gandhi and this desire intensifies when Mrs. Besant shows signs of agreements with Mr. Gandhi.

REBUKE TO PRESS REPORTERS.

The Congress proceeding opened to-day a trifle later than the appointed time with the singing of National songs by a bevy of ladies. The pandal was as crowded as it was on the preceding day but there was more calm among the visitors. All the same the work fixed for day could not be got though notwithstanding the cutting down of the limit of speakers. There was usual race for listering to vernacular speeches, though they were necessarily interpersted with English speeches as many speakers were innocent of locale vernacular. The proceedings went on smoothly enough except for ovations accorded to Messrs. Dunichand, Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali on arrival.

The president before calling on Mr. Chakravarti to move the fifth resolutions on the agenda, the fourth dealing with Sir Sankaran Nair not having been taken up administered a rebuke to press reporters for sending out news of the subjects committee proceedings and gave a warning that they would be excluded from reporting congress proceedings in case of their persisting to get news and publish. Many reporters were however observed starting in amazement when the president made a suggestion that they must have been smuggled into the Committee. The president held it a breach of confidence by reporters. It will, however, be remembered that rough accounts of the Committee proceedings have in past been published being almost public property and generally known to all delegates at the place of the Congress session.

There is considerable feelings among pressmen who got news without being any where near the committee pavilion and the president's remarkes are resented as unnecessarily stinging. When every man in the street could learn details of the proceedings.

Four resolutions were in all passed to-day before the congress adjourned at quarter past three the subjects committee having had to meet at the hall at 4-30. The congress session is likely to extend to the new year day.

Also Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mohammed Ali who arrived at the congress shortly after two shooks hands with leaders on the platford including Messrs. Tilak and Gandhi and were profusely garlanded and enthusiastically cheered. Both of them made speeches which were warmly received by the house.

Almost at the beginning of the proceedings the president had lost voice and Pandit Malvaya was delegated to put resolution, etc., to the meeting the president continuing to occupy the chair.

WANTED GENERAL AMNESTY.

AMRITSAR, Dec. 31.

At to-day's sitting of the Congress in addition to the resolutions held over the following resolutions are for discussion:—

To be moved from the chair:—In view of the fact that full effect has not yet been given to the general amnesty clause of the gracious proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor and that the persons in the Punjab tried by the martial law commissioners, the summary courts, the area officers, and the tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act, and the detenues, deportees and all political prisoners in Bengal and other parts of India including the Andamans have not been released, this Congress expresses the earnest hope and trusts that the fullest effect will immediately be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal command.

REFORM ACT INADEQUATE AND DISAPPOINTING.

Mr. C. R. Dass will move (A) That this Congress reiterates its declaration of last year that India is fit for full responsible Government and repudiates all assumptions and assertions to the contrary wherever made, (B) that this Congress adheres to the resolutions passed at the Delhi Congress regarding constitutional reforms and is of opinion that the Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing; (C) that this Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full responsible government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

After Messrs. Tilak, Satyamurti and some others have spoken in support, Mrs. Besant will move an amendment, that this Congress welcomes the Reforms Act as opening the gateway of freedom to the Indian nation and as giving her the power to walk on her own feet along the road to responsible Government thus forming the first substantial stage on that road and it earnestly begs the people to take the utmost advantage of its provisions so as to reach the goal in the shortest possible time. It places also on record its gratitude to Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha for their strenuous work against the greatest difficulties both in India and Great Britain.

MR. GANDHI'S AMENDMENT.

Mr Gandhi will move and Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Malaviya will support another amendment stating that in the opinion of the Congress whilst the Reforms Act falls short of the requirements of the situation in India and is therefore inadequate and unsatisfactory, the Congress recognises it as a definite step towards responsible Government and without prejudice to its full right to agitate at the earliest opportunity for remedying the glaring omissions in the said Act it calls upon the people to cooperate with the authorities in making the reforms a success. That this Congress expresses its cordial thanks to the Right Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu and Lord Sinha for their labours on behalf of India in connection with the constitutional reforms.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

(From Our Special Representative.)

AMRITSAR, Dec. 30.

To-day's Congress sessions began with the introduction by Mr. B. Chakarvarty of Bengal of a resolution expressing the opinion of the Congress that the Punjab rulers' action in not allowing the then imprisoned leaders to attend and instruct counsel at the Hunter Committee was a serious injustice.

Rai Saheb professor Ruelu Ram Sahni from the Punjab made an impassioned speech in Urdu. In support he laid emphasis upon the essential unfairness, the official restriction when the great point was to get at the truth.

He was heartily supported in fine high-flown Urdu by Mr. Fazalur Rahiman from the United Provinces who declared that such conduct sullied the fair name of British Justice.

The resolutions having been passed Mahatma Gandhi brought up the next resolution regretting and condemning the excesses committed certain part of the Punjab and Gujrat. Speaking in Hindi he exhorted the audience to remember that a number was murdered, whosoever might have committed it and they were bound to condemn it whatever the provocation. Objection was taken to the use o the word "mob". He differed from Swam Shradohanand in interpreting the word "mob" as the general community. No "mob" indicated just that element which was likely to be suspectible to frenzy. He had witnessed that frenzy in Gujerat, in Pydhounie while a Bombay. Real manliness consisted in not re taliating even when under a shower of bullets, to suffer evil patiently and with the opposition of good was the spirit of the real heroes. Tha was why he wanted them to condeman the excesses of the "mob." He was glad he was the instrument in exhorting them to do this deed of penance, repeating his remarks English. He warned them to apreciate the solemnity of the proposition. The whole key to future work lay in their recognising the eternal truth underlying the resolution.—Do not return madness but return madness, he concluded with sanity by warmly accepting this resolution. Swami Shradhanand seconded the resolution. Beginning with the observatio that the word 'mob' had no exact equivalen in one word in the vernacular and they must understand by it a crowd blinded b fury. It is the action proceeding from ange and frenzy he wanted to condemn. Let u put trust in the axiom "iron cuts iron." does, but there is no peace resulting afte the action. Let us rather believe in the principle of returning anger by non-anger as the Sanskrit proverb has it, let us retur good for evil.

At this stage the arrival of Diwan Mangal Singh, the Gujranwala Leader, who had suffered long from captivity was the signal for an outburst of cheers and Swami Shradhanand utilised for argument the fact of his release and appealed for fortitude and patience.

The Hon. Rai Bahadur Bhagat Ram from the Punjab supported the resolution. His argument was that when you call the Dyer and O'Dwyers to account, you must in fairness ask our mob to do so. We need hav no fear. Our case he said will be befor Britain and it will stand examination.

"VICTORY CONGRESS."

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal supported the resolution in English. In stentorian voice, he declared his pleasure at finding in the resolution more than as formal regret and condemnation. He honestly admitted our own responsibilities, and the divinity in us condemned our excesses, but let us tell our rulers we hold them responsible for making brutes of us at least for a moment. This resolution, however, testifies that for a moment only the brute in us prevailed. Thi Congress will go down to history therefore as the Victory Congress, the victory of Indian public opinion over bureaucratic pretensions He related his own personal victory. H had left for the Punjab disobeying with du notice to the authorities the prohibitive or der against him and how the communique withdrawing the order followed eight days after.

Resolution No. 5 was then passed by an overwhelming majority.

Mrs. Besant, who was cordially received next moved the Dyer Condemnation Resolution. Age and strenuous work have weakened the silver tones of her oratory but sh still retains in full measure the art of holding an audience. She laid emphasis on the fac that Britain had been in dark about the Punjab happenings and that she would repair the wrong done and punish the wrong doer in full measure. She held that the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy was not a private worry that could be forgiven but a public wrong that must be redressed. Our fain and small request was but a small concession to our outraged feeling. She then appeale to India for forgiveness so that the bloodshed at Jallianwala might not cry to heaven for revenge but link India and England in a bond of peace.

Mr. Tilak referred to the mildness of the resolution, that only showed how we knew how for the present to suppress our indignation for this. I knew, he said, you will excuse me for moderation but let us be mild in the use of words we choose now. so as to be more effective when the evidence has accumulated against Dyer and others. He can then ask Dyer and the whole lot to be unpeaced even in the Jallianwala Bagh. His sentiment, declared Mr. Tilak, was in its intensity similar to that of the English people against the Kaiser asked for suppor to the resolution holding out the hope that another resolution of a more effective nature will be held at the Special Congress to be held after the two inquiries' reports were out.

Mr. Jitendra Lal Banerjee, who followed, delivered a deadly satirical speech directed against the spirit of patience and forbearance, preached by Mr. Gandhi and even by Mr. Pal. General Dyer, he declared, was fitly so named because, had he not dyed the Punjab with blood? Shall we not say to him, thou art condemned out of thy own mouth, and demand the most condign punishment for him? What were the Punjab and Simla Governments doing? It is a fact that they approved the act of their servant, who had made up his mind to fire upon the crowd, even before he witnessed what kind of a crowd it was. Jallianwala had become our political holy land and we shall put on our heads the blood-stained earth of that Bag with holy respect. That was the indirect result of General Dyer's action. Mr. J. N. Banerjee's peroration of sympathy addressed to the Punjab delegates, produced a soul-stirring effect and loud and long were the cheers which appreciated the speech.

The resolution was further supported by Mr. Gonalswami Mudaliar from Madras.

Mr. Ghulam Yassen then referred in Urdu to what he called the Amritsar point of view about the matter. Mr. Gulam Yassein said the bluff and bluster of General Dyer before the Hunter Committee had embittered them still more. He hoped Sir Edward Maclagan's policy would mend matters at least to some extent.

The resolution was unanimously passed.

Rai Saheb Rachi Ram Sahni had again the privilege of addressing the assembly, he being given the honour of moving the resolution demanding the removal of Sir Michael O'Dwyer from the membership of the Army Commission in a language, saturated with deep emotion, Rai Saheb Rach Ram who left Government service only a year ago next and had always been known for his independence of views described the Punjab reign of terror.

GRAND OVATION TO ALI BROS.

At this stage the Ali brothers entered the Congress Pandal and the vast assembly rose to every man and woman to greet the stout defenders of personal freedom of opinion and action. The Ali brothers marched up to the dais bowing profoundly to Mr. Tilak and the others and coming forward into the rostrum saluted the assembly. The wave of delighted enthusiasm that surged up in the assembly rolled on and on in cheers of applause. There was a torrent of flowers trimming from all parts and they had to stand up on a table to the sight of the President, so that the audience would feast its eyes on them.

Swami Shraddhanand called for three cheers for the Ali brothers, for Hindu-Moslem unity and for our Bharatmata.

Lala Rachi Ram then continued his speech, but the assemblage had its eyes rivetted upon the Ali brothers. Its ears were busy listening to the details of the wonderful triumphal process in which Amritsar had prepared for them.

Golam Mohiuddin Saheb of unhappy Kasur then addressed the assembly in Urdu. He has a phenomenally large and penetrating voice and he held the attention of the vast concourse right through his speech. He began with a description of the era of repression, the muzzling of the press, the spiriting away of the national leaders, God knew where. All the time Indian soldiers were watering France with the blood. For what? For this that Sir Michael O'Dwyer should reign supreme in the Punjab and allow unarmed crowds to be machine-gunned? Was this to be tolerated? "No", went up the loud cry from the audience. Where was the English principle, he asked, of never striking from the back, no cunning, no strategy. He continued with a new break urging the Hindu-Moslem unity. Quoting from Persian texts he appealed from the continuance of this unity. God had not forsaken them in the hour of their calamity. He had sent for their succour a Gandhi, a Malaviya, a Motilal Nehru and as for Swami Shraddhanand, what words can describe his efforts on their behalf. To-day's assemblage was the tribute to that succour, the answer to the ultimately impotent mightiness of the O'Dwyers.

Every bit of the huge pandal is crammed with humanity and the number might easily exceed twenty thousand persons.

Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb, the revered Moslem religious head, was then amidst acclamations made a delegate along with the Ali brothers.

VICTORY OVER FORCES OF REPRESSION.

Mr. Shaukat Ali, then responded to the insistent demands to speak a few words.

(Continued on page 10.)

ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE.

ENTHUSISTIC RECEPTION OF ALI BROTHERS.

STIRRING APPEAL TO "COME FORWARD AND SAVE ISLAM."

MUSALMAN DEMAND FOR KHILAFAT.

(Associated Press.)

AMRITSAR, Dec. 30.

Hakim Ajmal Khan finished his presidential address at 3-45 p.m., and resumed his seat amidst loud and prolongede heers.

TELEGRAMS OF SYMPATHY.

Mr. Zahur Ahmed, Secretary, All-India Muslim League, then read out telegrams of sympathy received from Lala Lajput Rai, Syed Ali Nabi, Nawab Sarfaraz Hussain Khan Ibrahim Haroon Jaffer, and Yusuf Hussain Khan. Lala Lajput Rai who was at present in New York had wired to the following effect:—"Fullest sympathy with Hindu-Muslim Unity It must be fostered."

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were then put from the chair and carried:—

(1) That the All-India Muslim League tenders its homage to the person and throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor and assures him of the steadfast and continued loyalty of the Musslman community of India.

(2) That this meeting of the All-India Muslim League places on record, its sense of the deep loss which the community has sustained by the sad and untimely death of the Sheikh Mohammad Umar, Bar-at-Law, of Amritsar and Secretary, Anjuman Taraqi-i-Talim Mussulmanan, Amritsar.

(3) That this meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its sense of deep grief at the sad and untimely demise of the late Nawab Syed Mohammad of Madras.

Before adjourning for the day Hakim Ajmal Khan made a few remarks requesting the audience to take a lively interest in the community and the country. The Hakim Sahib said that the time for sitting indoors had gone. They should now come out of their houses and serve the country with zeal and sincerity. He hoped they would come tomorrow in larger numbers and take part in the discussion of resolutions.

The League then adjourned till 12 noon today.

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION.

(Associated Press.)

AMRITSAR, Dec. 30.

The All-India Muslim League resumed its sittings to-day at the 12 noon at the Bande Mataram Hall. There was a large gethering and the hall was packed. Among prominent Mahomedans seated on platform were Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Mumtaz Hussain, Mr. Barkatali and Mohammad Safdar.

Before the proceedings began, Hakim Ajmal Khan requested the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League to read his report. Mr. Zahur Ahmad then read the annual report giving a short history of the work done by the Council and members of the All-India Muslim League during the year. Dr. Ansari expressed his appreciation of the work done by the Secretary and members of the League and hoped that the members would accept and pass the report. The annual report was then accepted and passed.

The President then put the revised draft constitution and rules of All-India Muslim League before the members of the League for their consideration and pointed out that visitors had no right either to vote or to take part in the discussion of the amendments and changes to be embodied in the constitution. Only the members of All-India Muslim League had the right to vote. The draft constitution of the League was then taken into consideration by the members section by section and clause by clause.

Mr. Mumtaz Hussain, Bar-at-Law, Lucknow proposed the following amendment to section 2 clause (A) that the word "and promote" be deleted and that the section should read thus "To maintain among Musalmans of India feelings of loyalty towards the British Crown."

AMENDMENT OPPOSED BY MR. JINNAH.

Mr. Jinnah opposed the amendment and said that the All-India Muslim League was concerned with the political considerations of Musalmans. They were also thinking of the interests of the whole country and were not a sectarian body. Why, he asked, were they discussing questions of Hindu-Moslem Unity and reforms if they wanted to confine themselves to Musalmans only. It seemed to him that they were limiting their own powers by amending the section. He knew that at present their hearts were very sore. He asked them to fight out to its bitter end, but requested them not to change the objects of their constitution as the constitution was always sacred. Mr. Jinnah said that Mr. Mumtaz Hussain had given no reason for his amendment and asked the members not to accept it.

Mr. Barkat Ali supported the amendment and requested to delete the words "and promote" from clause (A).

The amendment was put to the vote and lost.

Mr. Jinnah then proposed that the word "religious" be added after the word "political" in clause (b) section 2. The amendment was carried unanimously. The amended clause ran thus:—"To protect and advance the political, religious, and other rights and interests of Indian Musalmans."

AMRITSAR, Dec 30.

The All-India Moslem League to-day after consideration of some more sections and clauses of the draft constitution and rules of the League, adjourned at 2-30 p.m. for prayers. The League re-assembled after prayers at three o'clock. Before proceeding with the agenda of the day the President announced that further consideration of the rules and constitution had been postponed till the following morning, when non-members of the League would not be admitted. Consideration and discussion of the resolutions were then proceeded with.

The following resolution was passed:—

That this session of the All-India Moslem League, while thanking the Governor of Bombay for announcing in Council the strict neutrality of Government in religious matters and in issuing a public warning to that effect, strongly urges the necessity of a sifting enquiry by H. E.'s Goverament into the complaints of the improper conduct of certain Sindh officials in connection with the Khalifat question.

Mr. Masud-ul-Hasan then proposed the following resolution:—

That in view of the strong desire of the Moslem community to have definite provisions for the protection of its interests, this League urges upon the Government that the following safeguards be adopted in the forthcoming reforms:—(A) Musalmans should be adequately represented in the public services of the country. (B) Musalmans should have representation on Government committees in the same proportion as the representation accorded to Musalmans in the Legislative Council in the province concerned may be. (C) The Urdu language and Persian character should be maintained in courts and public offices in those provinces, where they are in vogue and Urdu should be employed as the medium of primary education in the aforesaid provinces. (D) Musalmans should be afforded facilities for protection and help in the observance and performance of their religious rites, ceremonies and usages without any restriction.

The resolution was seconded and supported by several gentlemen.

Mr. Aga Saifar opposed it on the ground that these matters ought to be settled by private conferences with the Hindus instead of appealing to the Government.

"BE RELIGIOUS AND LAW-ABIDING."

At this stage Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, Maulana Abdul Bari and Dr. Kitchlow entered the hall and the audience at once stood up and jumped with joy crying out "Allah Ho Akbar" "Allah Ho Akbar." These cries continued for several minutes. The consideration of the resolution was dropped for the time being and the President asked Mr. Shaukat Ali to address the gathering. As he stepped forward to speak the audience greeted him with loud cheers and shouts of "Allah ho Akbar". In a forceful speech Mr. Shaukat Ali dwelt on the present deplorable condition of the Musalmans and appealed to them to come forward and save Islam. He asked them to have faith in Allah and do their duties courageously and fearlessly. He then dwelt on demands on the Khilafat problem. He added the Mahomedans to stand firm in the demans on the Khilafat problem. He asked them to tell the Viceroy plainly that if an inch of the land in Jazirat-ul-Arab was taken by a non-Moslem power, forty crores of Musalmans would come forward and die for their religion. (Loud cheers of "Allah ho Akbar"). They would not give the Government any rest if the Khilafat question was not solved to their satisfaction. He asked them whether they would remain as subjects of the British Empire or as Musalmans? (Cries of "As Musalmans, As Musalmans"). In conclusion he asked to Musalmans to be religious and law-abiding and not to pass their lives in worldly pleasures. While Mr. Shaukat Ali was speaking several members of the audience were moved to tears.

After Mr. Shaukat Ali had resumed his seat, Mr. Mahomed Ali rose to speak amidst loud cries of "Allah ho Akbar." He referred to his internment and dwelt on the religious decadence of Islam. He asked Musalmans whether they should fear General Dyer, flogging and crawling, or God? Who was the King of Kings? (Cries of "We should fear Allah and nobody else."). Continuing Mr. Mahomed Ali said there was no Government except the Government of God. They should not serve anybody as subjects except Allah. He was ready

(Continued on page 10.)

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REFORM RESOLUTION.

(Continued from page 9.)

After five long years his mouth was muzzled, he began, and when he heard that Hindu and Moslem blood had mingled at the Jallianwala Bag he realised that India had won victory over the forces of repression. Bowing again to Mr. Tilak he declared that he considered him as his *guru* and when he found Messrs. Tilak and Gandhi there in that pandal, his heart warmed up with courage. The deep fervour of his utterance rendered the whole audience at once mad and serious and it listened to the speech with an earnestness which it had never lent to any previous speaker. The elder brother having spoken, Mr. Mohammed Ali followed with the preliminary remark that it was intolerable to come to the Punjab and not to speak Urdu. This was in answer to the interruptions of the Madras delegates for a speech in English. He exhorted his Madras brethren to learn Hindi or Urdu. To depend upon English alone was again to invite the regime of Dyers and O'Dwyers, such was the change in Amritsar. He found that he was reminded of the man who went into a drinking saloon looked at a small glass of wine and found on coming out the whole world had changed. I come out of my jail and what do I see? The whole world changed, a new fire had been created in their hearts.

Speaking in English on the urgent insistence of the non-Urdu speaking portion of the assemblage he said the time for paper resolutions had passed, remember let us go back to prison rather to die if by anything, whether clemency or tardy justice the crow-bars which have demolished our restrictions, are to be framed into chains for further bondage. Let not Indian right be playing the sport of any officials. We must see to it that no Indian can say to another. "Thou art a bondsman."

The Congress then adjourned after passing the resolution, to next day at 11 a.m.

Mr. Tilak, supporting the resolution moved by Mrs. Besant for relieving General Dyer, said:—"I was in England when a strong sentiment to anger and rage was prevalent for the trial of the Kaiser, whose actions were interpreted to mean murder of innocent women and children and there was such a strong feeling against him that the people of England demanded his trial in England, and I read in one of the papers, by a jury consisting of the widows of those slain in the war. Compared to that feeling this resolution before you is very mild, indeed. It points to the difference between the mental condition and the spiritual conditions that prevailed in England and in India. We are simply asking for the recall of General Dyer, not trial as yet, not impeachment as yet, because our inquiries are yet incomplete, as stated in the first part of the resolution. But it does not mean that our indignation is less than what the English felt in those days against the Kaiser. My indigation and sentiment at present is very great and I had a mind to speak a good deal and I must say that we should cudb our rage and anger until the reports of the Hunter Committee and your own Commissioners report. Probably you will accuse me of moderation, I know, but our anger has sometimes to be curbed until we are to let them out with greater effect. That is my excuse for asking you to adopt this resolution as it stands. Not that I feel less than any one of you about the outrages committed here. They are unparalled in the history of the world. The King is for the protetion of his subjects and not for the massacre of the subject. Where the individual is entrusted with the subject, the greater his powers over the subjects, the greater is his responsibility. Great is his position and the greater his pay. If they betray their trust, it is but meet that we should ask their impeachment not in London—in Jallianwala Bagh itself and, if need be, they must be punished in the same Bagh. They ought to be allowed to come to India for their trial and for suffering the punishment. Here my sentiment is very strong on the point and I compare it to the sentiment which was in England about the Kaisar after the war. What are the acts of the Kaisar compared with the atrocious acts committed under Martial Law? The Kaiser was at war with the world. Our Government professes that it was at have with the people because the people were in rebellion. Nothing of that kind. It is an absolute lie to say that the people of the Punjab were in open rebellion. I do not admit for a moment and I do not think any one of you admits it (cries of "no, no"). People have been massacred in cold blood in order to terrify them, as my friend Pandit Malaviya said in the Legislative Council. If such actions were allowed in civilised Governments, I must say that this civilisation deserves to be condemned. It has never been practiser in other countries. Those atrocities if they had been committed in England the English people would not have waited for nine months to bring the offenders under trial. No Ministry would have considered its existence safe without bringing the culprits to trial. Unfortunately our Government is not democratic and we are six thousand miles off from our King-emperor, thus encouraging those in power here to be despotic. I fear in this strain I may be led away to debate too much on this subject. You feel as I feel and I have no doubt that you will carry this mild resolution with acclamation and lend your support to it in the hope that another resolution will be placed before you in a special Congress to be held after the reports are out and that full justice will be done to the subjects of His Majesty in the Punjab.

MOB EXCESSES.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi then moved that "this Congress, while fully recognising the grave provocation that led to sudden outburst of mob frenzy, deeply regrets and condemns the excesses committed in certain parts of the Punjab and Gujrat, result in loss of lives and injury to person and property during April, last."

In moving the resolutions condemning mob excesses, Mr. Gandhi, after addressing the Congress first in Hindi, then speaking in English, said:—I have explained in the national tongue of India the solemnity of the occasion and the gravity of the suation that faces us. I dare say before this assembly and before those who occupied the seat of prominence on the platform. I dare say to them that there is no greater resolutions before this Congress than this resolution. The whole key to success in future lies in our hearty acceptance of this resolution, the hearty recognition of the truth underlying it and acting up to it. I say that if there had been no violence on our part we could have achieved our end. I can quote before you chapter and verse from Viramgam, Ahmedabad, Bombay, etc. to show that there was violence on our part intended and committed. I agree that there was grave provocation given by the Govt. in arresting Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew and in arresting me who was sent on a mission of peace at the invitation of Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew, but the Government went mad at the time. We went mad also at the time. Don't return madness with madness, but return madness with sanity and the whole situation will be cleared up.

Mr. Gandhi, speaking in Hindi, said only by accepting the resolution can we discharge the greater responsibility and only then can we obtain our rights. Some of this friends had said that in placing the resolution before the public there is the danger of hurting our cause, but I totally disassociate from this view. If no excesses had been committed on our side the Rowlatt Act would have been removed from the Statute Book. There were no doubt provoking causes, but even then I think people should have kept perfect control over their feeling.

I am not a believer in the European methods of violence and I refuse to believe that by burning churches or committing any acts of violence we can obtain our rights. The acceptance of the resolutions is an act of some purification. Some of us have suggested that some acts of violence were committed at the instigation of the C. I. D., but I do not apportion all the blame to the people, but I do say that many of us in several places acted madly and I want to condemn all acts of madness. By controlling ourselves we shall acquire powers which will gain anything and everything for us. We were excited because when two innocent persons Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew, the two eyes of Amritsar, were arrested; in other parts they were excited because I was arrested whilst I was on an errand of peace. I appeal to you, control your anger because only then you will save India.

GEN. DYER'S REMOVAL URGED.

Mrs. Besant moved that "in view of the fact that neither the Hunter Committe or the Congress Commission has finished its examination of witnesses and issued its report, this Congress, while expressing its horror and indignation at the revelations already made and condemnation of atrocities admitted, refrains from urging any definite steps to be taken against offenders. Yet, having regard to the cold-blooded and calculated massacre of innocent men and children, an act without parallel in modern times, it urges upon the Government of India and the Secretary of State that, as a preliminary to legal proceedings to be taken against him, General Dyer should immediately be relieved of his command." "Resolved further that this Congress desires to place it on record that that in its opinion the Government of India and the Punjab Govt. must in any event be held responsible for the inexcusable delay in placing an authoritative statements of the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh before the public and His Majesty's Government."

Mrs. Besant, in moving the resolution, said in England they heard nothing of the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh until Sir William Vincent said in the Imperial Council that about 100 people were killed. It was only due to the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the efforts of the Seva Samitee that they were able to ascertain the wide extent of the loss of lives in Jallianwala Bagh and Pandit Malaviya's searching questions threw some light on the horrors perpetrated in the Punjab and they certainly had a right to blame the Government of India and the Punjab Government for the indignities inflicted on the Punjab. They had also to remember that in indicting General Dyer they were not relying on testimonies of others, but their own utterances. They were criminals who did public wrong. General Dyer's evidence showed the shamelessness and utter lack of realisation of the things he has done. On their own confession horrors have been perpetrated. There were two kinds of wrongs, public and private. If offences were committed against an individual that individual had a right to forget and forgive, but when it has been done against harmless unarmed and unresisting people and there the massacre was stopped simply because ammunition ran short and in a closed, space and the General Commanding directed the firing within, the closed space until people were chocked with dead and dying, they had a right to appeal to the British public to try and punish these criminals. Great Britain who sent these men to India cannot allow to use a modern weapon as machine-guns, against unarmed people. The relieving of General Dyer of his command was a small request. India claimed British justice.

APPEAL TO INDIA TO FORGIVE.

Continuing, Mrs. Besant said she appealed to India with her spiritual traditions to forgive the frightful wrong done to the Punjab so that the blood shed in Jallianwala Bagh may not cry to heaven for vengeance but instead turn into a river of immortality uniting all into a common brotherhood. As long as anger reigned in the heart of the people there can be no real peace. Let them leave the task of punishment of official criminals to the Punjab and remember the King-Emperor has given a message of peace followed by a guarantee in the form of release of political prisoners. Mrs. Besant added she dared not appeal to any but India, which gave birth to a Budha and others, to forgive, the wrongs done in the Punjab, for they were difficult to forgive and formed a stain on the name of Great Britain; and in the name of Gret Britain, the land of her birth, she appealed to Indians and India, her land of adoption, to purge hatred from their hearts while demanding justice of Great Britain.

Mr. B. G. Tilak, in seconding the resolution, said that for the present they were simply asking for the recall of General Dyer. They were not asking just then for his trial or impeachment. The Congress Committee was still enquiring. As soon as the enquiry was complete a special Congress sessions would be held and the result of the enquiry be placed before them for deciding upon the course of action.

Mr. Jitendralal Banerjee, Bengal, in supporting the resolution, denounced in scathing terms General Dyer's action.

Mr. Gopalswami Mudaliar further supporting the motion on behalf of Madras and Ghulam Hassen on behalf of Madras and Ghulam Hassen on behalf of the Punjab, it was then put to the vote and carried.

MR. PAL'S SPEECH ON RESOLUTION CONDEMNING MOB EXCESSES IN PUNJAB.

AMRITSAR, Dec. 30.

Mr. Bepin Chunder Pal, in supporting the resolution condemning mob excesses in Gujerat and the Punjab, said: "I support the resolution with greater pleasure. If this resolution had simply condemned excesses committed by the Punjab I would have stoutly opposed such expression of regret. I support this resolution as it is nothing more than colourless resolution giving expression to regret at what people did. It also shows a sense of responsibility we feel. I would here point out to you that there are three elements in man. First the brutal, second human, and the third Divine or Godly. If in your relationship with me you bring into play the brute in you into play, the brute in me rises to meet you if you bring human element in force, I am human, and if you are Godly, the sleeping God in me rises to meet you. The people in the Punjab have done things which in cooler moments they would not have done, but we know provocation offered to people. We know for how many decades they have been oppressed the people and crawled like worms. But even worms sometimes turn round. It is bureaucratic repression that has been responsible for the sudden outburst. India has been a peaceful nation, with spiritual civilisation and peace-loving character and even such a people have been driven into infuriated mob. It is due to the brutal methods of those who hold political sway in this country, but God in us condemn excesses committed by people, and the resolution before the Conference was evidence of the fact that the brutal methods of administrators have not yet completely converted the people into brutes. But India was still a spiritual nation and would not return wrong for wrong.

Continuing Mr. Pal characterised the Amritsar Congress as a victory Congress a victory of Indian public opinion over bureaucratic pretensions and the fact that they had in their midst their leaders from jail was another sign of victory. But their victory was not the victory of the Allies over Germany. Their victory and this resolution vindicated the righteousness of their cause and the spiritual character of civilization here.

Mr. Pal said he left Calcutta after giving due notice to authorities concerned that he was going to the Punjab in spite of the exterment order and the order dated the 18th cancelling his exterment was published now only on the 28th.

Continuing Mr. Pal said the Royal Proclamation was another triumph and sign of justice of the Indian cause. This Congress was a victory Congress and the day of freedom was dawning and shackles have been removed from their ankles even though it may be meant to be temporary and they were grateful immensely to the King of Kings for his mercy and in that moment of their triumph and strength shall they not be humble, in spirit and own their failings and mistakes from the path of purity and righteousness. The resolution before them mean ta confession and let them now in the hour of triumph in a spirit of humble humility, truth and loyal to their ancient spiritual civilization confess to weakness the excesses committed by the mobs. With these words he commenced the resolution to their support.

MR. JITENDRA'S SPEECH.

Mr. Jitendra Lall Banerjee supporting the resolution said that sinner as he was, he could not fall in with the message of saints like Gandhi or Swami Shraddanand of returning good for evil. He was entirely human with human frailties and rage burned in his heart at what Genl. Dyer has committed. In any other country Genl. Dyer would have been tried ere long. He did not think that constitutional consideration could hold good in the case of General Dyer, who stood convicted out of his own mouth of heartless massacre. The name Dyer fitted him, for had he not dyed the Punjab with the blood of the innocent. His mis-deeds were revolting, but more so was his shameless boasting contained in his evidence before the Hunter Commission. He had fired, and he boasted he had fired well He fired simply because he thought his authority was flouted, and was wholesale massacre the punishment for it? General Dyer, in any other country would have found himself behind bars in no time. As from his own confession he was nothing more than a deliberate murderer. By giving Dyer his freedom and by keeping him still in command, the Government of India and the Local Government became guilty of being accessories after the fact and deserved to be condemned. It was a shame that Gen Dyer represented Christian and Western civilisation. Jallianwalla Bagh has become a sacred shrine, and people were visiting it from distant parts, and will continue to do so and learn the lesson of the common brotherhood of man. Many lessons have been learned as the result of the Punjab occurrences. The people have learned to suffer and through suffering learned purity. All India felt for the Punjab and the grievious wrongs done to the Punjab. All India shared in the Punjab Humiliation and would now share in her hour of triumph.

REMOVAL OF SIR. M. O'DWYAR FROM ARMY COMMISSION.

Mr. Golam Mohiuddin seconded the resolution asking for removal of Sir Michel O'Dwyer from the Army Commission. He said that the Hindu-Moslem unity was now on a footing never more to succumb to any pressure or tyranny. The O'Dwyer regime was calculated to repress political life in the Punjab and if possible to kill it that it might never rise again. The Congress, its attitude, and its success would tell how far O'Dwyerism succeeded' in its reactionary ideals. The wonderful achievement of this year's Congress were due to the selfless labours of Mr. Gandhi, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Pundit Motilal Nehru and Swami Shradhananda. The Punjab was considered, and perhaps rightly considered, the martial province of the Punjab. The Army Commission at present sitting in India would, therefore, touch upon the question mainly affecting the Punjab. A typical and a most hated administrator of the Punjab could not but injure the cause of the helpless province if he were allowed to continue to guide the deliberations of the Army Commission. Therefore came the necessity for relieving Sir Michel O'Dwyer of his present duties Swami Shraddanand then declared Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali and Moulvi Abdul Bari were elected delegates of the Congress. Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali addressed the Congress in support of the resolution asking that Sir Michel O'Dwyer should be relieved from the Army Commission. Mr. Shaukat Ali speaking in Urdu said Jallianwalla Bagh cemented unity between the Hindus and Moslems by the intermingling of their blood. They were ready to suffer all indignities and sufferings. Pointing to Maulana Abdul Abari, the speaker said that Maulana was a descendent of family which had for the last 400 years been held in great reverence by the Mahomedan community, and which family always had kept itself aloof from all political activities. To-day the same Maulana against the traditions of his family had come for the first time to attend the Congress. Maulana and the speaker had realised that their only friends in adversity were the Hindus. They were so much obliged to their Hindu brethren that till the day of resurrection they would never forget the services of the Hindus to uplift the Mahomedan causes.

RESOLVE TO ACCOMPLISH COVETED IDEALS.

Mr. Mohamed Ali followed his brother and spoke in both Urdu and English. He began by narrating a story. King Harun Rashig of old time appointed Abu Nawas to teach his son Amin to compose poems. One day the master told his pupil that his poems were not in order, the result was that Amin ordered his master to be sent to jail. The King learnt this and rebuked his son for his unbecoming behaviour. Abu Nawas was sent free, and the next day resumed his duties. Amin placed before his master his poem and asked his opinion. The master after reading through the paper got up and began to put on his shoe. Being asked he told that the poem was as bad as before and his condemnation of it would mean re-imprisonment. Therefore he was going to the jail. Such was the speaker said, his own case he had just come from the prison, and he could not but condemn the Government action, and as a result he was prepared, if need be to go to jail. He said the volleys of fire that were set forth at the Jallianwalla not only penetrated the physical body but affected the very soul within the body, and this effect was sure to develop to an extent to make India one of the greatest nation on the earth. He emphasised that the passing of resolutions as they were printed on papers could not achieve their desired effects until they resolved with true heart to accomplish the ideals conveyed by them. It was for the audience to resolve with a firm and unwavering determination that they could bear tyranny no more, let there be rigours of internment and exterhment, imprisonment or of any other imaginable punishment under bureaucratic regime. Let all leaders be ready to undergo them if such action could but secure for the coming generation that freedom which was inborn with them. Let time come when every Indian may consider himself as free. Let no one might say that India consisted of born slaves. It was their duty to shun off that slavery and pave the way of freedom for future generations to come.

MESSRS. JETHAMAL AND ADVANI.

RELEASED FROM JAIL.

A correspondent writes:—

It is with a feeling mixed with gratiture and pleasure that we had the release of Mr. Jethmal Parsam Gulrajani the famous Editor of "Hindrasi" who had been sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment on the charges of sedition and exciting enmity between the various classes of his Majesty's Government.

My Jethmal was released last night at 1 p.m. from the Yerovada Prison and he was in our midst early in the morning after a toilsome journey of a night.

He was in his usual dress but his hair had considerably grown and wore a cheerful look. The usual smile was on his face as he greeted every one of us. Fortunately the jail-terrors had not been too great for him and he had borne them with a remarkable patience.

Asked as regards his experiences in jail he said that they were too numerous, and that he would present them to the public in a small pamphlet.

He said that the jail life was beneficial in as much as it greatly disciplined the body and brought home those lessons that are not to be dreamt of ordinary life. He said that he had come out of his prison-cell with a greater strength of his future work without any effect of the depressing and damning surroundings of the prison-life.

Asked as regards his future work, he said that three things had struck him while he was studying Gita and he would try his utmost to keep up to them. They were:—

(1) Bravery (of a Kshatriya).
(2) Dexterity.
(3) No flight from the battlefield.

He would work on as fearlessly as before and would dedicate his life in the cause of the motherland.

Indeed Sind has to congratulate herself for producing a hero of Mr. Jethmal's type, for it is men like him that accelerate our progress and bring us nearer to our goal that we have in view.

P.S.—A telegram from Ahmedabad from Mr. Durgdas has been received that he has been released to-day. To is arrived In Bombay by the Gujrat Mail.

LALA LAJPATRAI.

ON WAY TO INDIA.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

AMRITSAR, Dec. 31.

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra announced amidst cheers in the course of Congress proceedings to-day, that a cable had been received stating that Lala Rajpat Rai had sailed from America for England en route to India. The cable which was from Lala Rajpat Rai's son to Mr. Amrit Rai and is sons from Khana City reads:—

"Father sailed for England inform Malaviya."

ALL INDIA MOSLEMLEAUGE.

(Continued from page 9)

to sacrifice everything, his old mother, his children and even his life for Allah and his religion. If his release meant anything, it meant that he was reaching nearer and nearer to his God and towards the fulfilment of the dreams of his life. (Loud and prolonged applause and cries of "Allah ho Akbar"). During his address the audience sobbed continually and Mahomed Ali himself was seen to be weeping.

After the Ali brothers had resumed their seats a gentleman in the audience requested Maulana Abdul Bari to address the gathering but he said he would prefer not to speak just then as the time for prayers was very near and the League then adjourned till to-morrow.

WELCOME TO ALI BROTHERS.

(From our Correspondent.)

AMRITSAR, Dec. 30.

The twelft session of the All-India Muslim League opened yesterday at 11 a.m., in the Bandematram Hall, which was packed to its fullest extent, A large number of people were unable to attend owing to want of space. Almost all the prominent Muslim leaders were present, and those not present sent messages wishing success to the session. Among the non-Muslim visitors were, Mahatma Gandhi, Pundit Motilal Nehru, Swami Shradanand, Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Satyamurthi, Shashtri Sharma and Gokara Nath Misra. Mr. Safiudin Kitchlew, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, who had been elected before he was released was most enthusiastically received, and so was the President-elect of the sessions. Dr. Kitchlew's address of welcome was short, but most telling.

Hazikul Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan in his Presidential address dwelt on the Punjab disturbances, the new reforms, the Ottoman Empire, the Holy Places and Khilafat, cow-sacrifice, Anglo-Turkish relations and the Anglo-Persian agreement.

ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTIONS TO ALI BROTHERS.

Owing to the news of the coming of the Ali brothers the second sitting of the All-India Muslim League was timed to begin at 12 p.m. Much time was taken up by the Secretary's report, and the draft constitution. The fourth resolution on the programme was being discussed when Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali came into the hall. Their reception was frantically enthusiastic. Instead of cheers there were shouts of *"Allah Akbar,"* which continued for about ten minutes.

The President welcomed them on behalf of the house in a forcible speech. The speeches of Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mohsad Ali in reply were stirring, and moved the whole audience to tears, who punctuated the speeches by shouts of *"Allah O Akbar."*

HAKIM AJMALKHAN'S ADDRESS.

"INDEPENDENT'S" COMMENTS."

(From our Correspondent.)

ALLAHABAD, Dec. 29.

Commenting on Hakim Ajmal Khan's address to the Muslim League "The Independent" says "After perusal of this year's presidental address to the Muslim League we find we have nothing but applause for its author Hakim Ajmal Khan." As a spokesman of the Muslim population of the country Hakim Ajmal Khan has faithfully mirrored the feelings throbbing in the hearts of his community to-day and it is for the authorities in India to warn the powers in England in their dealings with Turkey. We sincerely hope that Lord Cholmsford will at least in this matter not ignore the force of public opinjon and drive the country into another vortex of unrest.

Commenting on that part of Pandit Motilal Nehru's address dealing with the reforms "The Independent" says the president has no illusions about the Reform Act It is defective in every aspect of it. It is not a graceful or generous measure. With governors so powerful, with powers vested in people so illusory, with councils which cannot be sure of measures they pass nor influence as the organ of the people, the finances of the province, with the supreme Government more autocratic than ever without the Declaration of Rights to safeguard and maintain inviolate liberties of the nation the Reform Act is a halting, ungenerous measure incompatible with the deserts of the country and unworthy of the statesmanship of England. Such is verdict of the president of the Congress and such we venture to say is the verdict so far of a large majority of Indians. The journal concludes "whatever verdict may be of that august body, no one who knows the real heart of the country will deny that of this as on the sorrows of the Punjab, Pandit Motilal Nehru has spoken with courage, knowledge and conviction and given the Congress memorable and magnificent lead

The steamer "Minnedosa", which is proceeding from England to India with a large number of civilian passengers, is expected to arrive at Karachi on the 4th January, and at Bombay on the 6th idem.

THE DU...

DISCLOS...

LT. BOAST A...

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Particular inter... inquest into the de... in Dublin, in consequ... accounts of affair. A ... ed that Lieutenant Boa... killed by a shot fired by... party.

Evidence given by the ... patrol bears out the ste... culated. It is now estab... civilian's name was Kenn... his head bandaged at a ... day night as a result of ... by him of alleged m... military barracks. ... nedy was mortally w... ment while endeavou... His comrades later ... him, but were interrupted ... that Kennedy carried ... with which he fired at Lie... A verdict was given that ... killed on way home by the ... The three arrested civilians ... leased.

REPORT OF SCUT... GERMAN WA...

DENIAL BY ALLIED N... COMMISS...

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Reed. ...

The Allied naval ... deny the report pu... News" that the Ge... at the Scapa Flow ... next year.

SOVIET GO... PEAC...

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COPENHAGEN.—The ... crument has offered ... ment peace, at the sa... the Soviet is prepari... against Poland.

FIRE IN MARS...

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(REUTER'S TELE... LON...

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PARIS.—It appears that ... burning down of the ra... Marseilles refers to the ... Station and not the main ...

INDIAN CURRENCY ...

(REUTER'S TELE... LON...

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The Report of the Indian ... mittee will be published ... Year.

ALL INDIA HUMANI... CONFERENCE.

TWO HUMANITARIAN ... STARTED.

After the publication of ... the Humanitarian Confere... of the 29th instant we hav... sage from Amritsar that ... League has already been st... the presidentship of Lala ... Vakil, High Court. Pandit ... LL.B., has been elected ... another similar institutio... Madras by Mr. K. Sharma ... will work on the lines of the ... tarian League, whom it has ... ply freely the necessary lite... tion.

PRESIDENTIAL ...

ANGLO-INDIAN PRESS ...

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CALCU...

Referring to the Amrits... "Englishman" says—It is ... deliberations are not to be ... kind of harmony.

The "Statesman" says tha... tory address of the President ... rant error of judgment.

The "Daily News" says ... tial address has been conc... tic vein.

THE EGYPT OF SIA."

MOSLEM UNREST.

VE CRISIS AHEAD.

M AJMALKHAN'S SPEECH.

oncluding portion peech at the All-

titude if we failed inent services ren- of the high-souled roved that Eng- men, ready to es- righteousness and otion the names of l, Captain Aubrey ore Morrison and re worthy of spe- and sympathetic drews and som m to our thanks. he liberty of re- uable excerpts I recently deliver- alt Muslim pro-

Empire has al- governed. Well. and I declare ent per head of tish Empire even there has been time in my ce to Arme- talk of hor- time. These one side only. ropaganda or- —chiefly Rus- te even the e kind of from Russia or a century symptoms as not thrust hout convul- charge that ates in cate-

Turks wished ssume the instructor- oman Empire, the years. Their object protection against the pean Powers during a ion and reform. *The refused*" (my italics). men like Enver Pasha. the suggestion as a for- see they dare not act become the tail of k to the position of The only chance which s Germany." Further ritish part of the and Progress)—the pointed, but still per- whittling down the it acceptable till it e than a request that e a certain number of to superintend the ks were trying to provinces against the intrigue. The force stern Anatolia all ed to a state of war. using all the means hey had much larger Turks possessed. to Government. They le massacres of Mos- quite indifferently— serve as pretext for f the country—mas- did all they could do Europe could not be at Russian intrigue was faced, so ruthless—and ought that if they could charge of those provin- rate would be bound to England was bound to ia by the terms of the Well, that request was believed. It was refused denly. If those English sent to Eastern Ana- d not torn up a "Scrap Armenian massacres place." A calm con- se matters leads to hich has been embodied ds.

ANGLO-PERSIAN MENT.

y was nearly enough Indian Muslims, when rsian Agreement (cal- to seal the doom of) proved to be the of Indian Muslims' days, was a source of nent to Indian Mus- ly indebted her. Hav- s along which their literary development lian Mussalmans can grateful regard for "kind, old teacher." at "brotherhood" (or ship which knits li mfamily of the uslim family of the principle of e, moved by the cons- , (as a result of

the intense realisation of that teaching), they cannot help being gratified or grieved, as the case may be, at the preservation and prosperity, or the decay and extinction of Muslim States. These feelings and sentiments, springing from the 'fundamentals' of Islam, remain unaffected by inessential differences of various pursuasions. We, therefore, observe that the *Shia* section of Mussalmans, whose views regarding the essentials of the question of khilafat do not coincide with those of the *Sunnis* are as intensely interested in the preservation of the Sultan's temporal power, as they could possibly be in the welfare of *Iran* (Persia), and the entire *Sunni* population has as tender a feeling for Persia as any living *Shia* can possibly have. Whether it be the Mussalmans of Turkey or of Persia, both *Sunnis* and *Shias*, and all other followers of Islam, are equally interested in and own spiritual kinship with them, and that is why Indian Muslims are deeply affected by the Agreement recently concluded between the British Government and *Iran*. The latter seems to have been the objects of the formers attentions, on account of her (Persia's) being a neighbour of India, and those attentions have long been materialising the form of a definite policy. Persia has been, for years' the object of English and Russian diplomacy, aiming at the extension or restriction of respective "spheres of influence" and as a consequence of this, all the hopes of a prosperous future, raised during the latest period of her evolutional struggle, were dashed to the ground. A severe blow was dealt to the hope of her economic development by causing the resignation of Mr. Shusterher well wisher after her political freedom had been imperilled to the point of extinction by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1909. However, the great European War, whose painful aftermath is not over yet, resulted in the termination of the said agreement, because Kerensky's Government declared it unconscionable and invalid. Had the Russian withdrawal been followed by the British withdrawal, Persia would have been the recipient of a blessing. But now it appears that responsible British Statesmen were awaiting the end of war and no sooner had favourable results made their appearance than they began to bestow attention upon Persia, finally securing the conclusion of the agreement under review.

PERSIA THE EGYPT OF ASIA.

We are, now, compelled to look upon Persia as the Egypt of Asia. We fully expect English capitalists to construct railways and roads for motor service. And we may be sure to see the Finance department completely overhauled, the audacity of men given to peculation materially pruned agriculture largely improved. oil-fields worked by more capable men, but it appears that in regard to the factors on which depends the evolutional development of the Persian people Persian's hands and feet are in danger of being bound. Persia may now cease to have any conception of political liberty, and despair of working the resources of the country or accomplishing any real economic development with the aid of the country's capital. Henceforth Persia will be obliged to maintain a very low standard of education, and will be so juxtaposed as to be obliged to relieve her officials of much of the burden of their responsibility, as a consequence of which their efficiency will be undermined, and she will be constrained to depend on some other Power for a supply of experts, and all these facts will contribute to the disappearance of her real freedom.

A *propos* of the Anglo-Persian Agreement which is being talked about in Europe, and Asia to-day, I may give below the gist of some of the articles which throw light on the nature of this Agreement.

By article one of part, one of the agreement, (in so far as the parchment is concerned on which the agreement is indited) the Government of Great Britain "reiterates the most categorical manner possible" the undertaking "to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia", and thereby in a way incurs a responsibility; and according to the second and the third articles it undertakes "to supply, at the cost of the Persian Government," advisers and experts "for the several departments of the Persian Administration", including, of course, Finance and Military Departments. These two articles vitally react on the first; for if the Persian Government is committed to entrusting her Military and Finance to British advisers and specialists. it is obvious that the agreement reaches down to the very root of Persia's independence, otherwise guaranteed in the first article. The third article further stipulates on behalf of Great Britain, the supply of "officers, "munitions and equipment of modern type at the cost of the Persian Government," thereby relieving Persia of much of the difficulty she might otherwise have encountered. Then Persia is granted a loan of £2,000,000 from England on interest at 7 per cent. per annum, payable by instalments in 20 years, and by way of security of repayment she assigns to England the receipts of all the revenues and customs of various provinces; England also assumes the responsibility of co-operating with the Persian Government in "encouraging Anglo-Persian enterprise" by means of "construction of railways and other forms of transport," thus enhancing the means of and facilitating communication. Further, Sir Percy Cox, has secured the relinquishment by the Persian Government of any claim she might otherwise have made to be indemnified for the damage "caused by British troops during their presence in Persian territory", and, as a token of reciprocal return, the British Government has agreed to claim no "cost for the maintenance of the said troops sent to Persia owing to Persia's want of power to defend her neutrality."

If Persia. in her anxiety to defend her neutrality requested the British Government send British troops, she certainly cannot fairly claim any indemnity for any damage caused by the troops, and not to burden her exchequer with the cost of the maintenance of these troops must necessarily be regarded as an act of obliging generosity but if the presence of British troops in Persia was a strategic and ineluctable necessity dictated by foresight in regard to the defence of India on the one hand and the provision against the enemy descending by way of Persia on the advanced troops in Mesopotamia on the other I fear the securing of the relinquishment of her claim by Persia can hardly be based on fairness."

MUSLIM UNREST AND KHILAFAT COMMITTEES.

In fine, the complex problems connected with Turkey's present plight, and the virtual extinction of Persia's freedom, are some of the most fruitful and potent causes of the present unrest throughout the Muslim world, which in my humble opinion does not derive sustenance from sources of a temporary nature, because it lies down in the depth of faith, and its temporary abatement should not be treated as a sign of its complete subsidence. It has, as we are all aware brought the Khilafat Committee into temporary existence to voice the true Moslem feelings and to secure the just treatment of Turkey and the preservation of the integrity of Persian independence. It is hoped that they will continue to respect the ethical duty imposed upon them as subjects of the Government, whose protection they enjoy, while banishing all hesitancy and timidy in giving fearless expression to their views—all within constitutional limits—during this crisis and after. May the Khilafat Committees succeed in achieving what they have come into existence for and may it not be found necessary to perpetuate or prolong their existence.

NON-PARTICIPATION IN PEACE CELEBRATIONS.

Gentlemen, allow me, here to say a few words regarding the abstention of the Muslims from the official Peace Celebrations. The Muslims of India along with other Indians would have willingly and enthusiastically participated in the celebration, whatever its form if the cessation of the war concluded in favour of the Allies had brought real peace and tranquility in its train. But at a time when the only surviving Muslim power appeared to be in imminent peril of being absorbed, and the Muslim Holy places had been weaned from Muslim custody their abstention from the celebration could hardly be viewed as unjustified. Their religion forbade any participation in such a rejoicing; and whenever there is any conflict between the accommand of their faith and the wishes of the officials their first duty will be to obey the former which no earthly consideration can possibly override.

GRANT OF UNLESS OF THE HINDUS AND MAHATMA GANDHI.

In this respect we Mussalmans are deeply grateful to the Hindus for sharing our sorrow with sincere willingness, and giving enthusiastic expression to their sympathetic feelings. The abstention of Hindus from peace celebrations, (which included the suspension of business for some time in the evening for 3 or 4 days, and co-operating with Mussalmans in observing the directions issued by the Anti-Peace Celebration Publicity Board). out of regard, among other things, for Muslim sentiments has made a deep impression on the Mussalmans, and I trust the spirit which has achieved this result will continue to operate in the interest of preserving the impression created. At the same time I confidently trust that the Mussalmans will, in future, willingly co-operate with their fellow countrymen in all matters which may be of special and exclusive interest to the latter. I cannot at this stage, help mentioning the revered name of Mahatama Gandhi an acknowledged leader of our country, whose active sympathy springing as it did from the depth of unalloyed sincerity and a correct conception of righteous action, has won him the grateful and reverential affection of all Mussalmans of India. If thankfulness can be expressed in words, let me in the name of the Indian Muslim community thank the Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi from the bottom of my heart.

THE MUSLIM INTERNEES.

Permit me, now, to say a word about the unfortunate Muslim and other interness, whose sufferings in exile have not known abatement in spite of the termination of the war. It seems as if the question of the release of our *Peshwa* (revered guide) Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hussan, and our brothers Messrs. Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abulkalam Azed, has ceased to engage the attention of the Government. The Mussalmans after having done what was possible for them to do, and failed to secure the early release of these devotees to the National cause, were hopi g that after the cessation of the war the Government would at an early date, turn its attention to the question of releasing the interness—a hope doomed to disappointment! If, however, this listlessness of the Government continue, it will be time for a systematic public movement to draw the attention of the Government to this question. It is, however, devoutly hoped that such a necessity will not arise, and the Government will be found ready to reconsider the question of their release, and terminate the painful period of their separation from us.

LAST WORD.

Ladies and Gentlemen I am sorry to have occupied much of your valuable time, but the singular gravity of the present crisis in the Muslim world, and the vital questions arising out of the Punjab situation compelled me to linger on the points dealt with in my address, even to the exclusion of some other important problems. I sincerely thank you for the patient hearing you have accorded me, and crave your indulgence for the ommissions and shortcomings patent on the face of my humble, although honest and sincere submissions. I am aware that the exceptional nature of the events now happening in the Muslim world has led me to dwell at lenth on topics of exclusively Muslim interest, but I have done so advisely and in the confident hope that it cannot, at this time of day, lead anyone to doubt the vivid consciousness of the Mussalmans of the solemn duty they owe to their Motherland. As children of the soil, they know and fervently desire to fulfil their duty to the country of which they in common with Hindus, Christians, Parsis and ther communities are the proud inheritors. They have, I can assure all concerned, realised to the full the solemn call of the Motherland, and the sacred duty of patriotism. I am proud to declare that the time has come when the necessity for exhorting people to live up to the highest standards of patriotism is rapidly diminishing; for the mysterious tide of human progress is pushing its sweep forward, and the humblest being is becoming conscious of how to live and die for higher ideals. For India the unseen future holds a magnificence and splendour compared with which the most glorious grandeur of her past will be but small. Let all hands of men as well as of women, join to unveil that vision.

MOSLEM LEAGUE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

"I, D, TELEGRAPH" ON INDIA'S "NEW CONSCIOUSNESS."

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

LUCKNOW, Dec. 30.

The "Indian Daily Telegraph" referring to Moslem League Presidential address points to its identity of views with the Congress address in its condemnation of Government for the Punjab occurrences, and says that one cannot afford to disguise the fact that a new consciousness has arisen in India which demands, that the treatment of Indians shall be in accordance with their accepted status.

MR. HORNIMAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—Now that His Majesty, the King Emperor, has directed the Viceroy to exercise His Royal Clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure compatible with public safety, it is now fit and proper, nay imperative, that his Excellency Sir George Lloyd should take the earliest opportunity of revoking the order of deportation passed against Mr. Horniman.

The grounds for deporting Mr. Horniman, according to Mr. Montagu, were that he caused disaffection among the British troops by circulating copies of "The Chronicle" free of charge amongst them and that he published an inaccurate report about the soft-nosed bullet. How entirely baseless are these grounds have been proved beyond the shadow of doubt by the explanation of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Horniman. The Bombay Government, however, have not explicitly stated their grounds, but they simply refer to certain articles of Mr. Horniman in "The Chronicle" of March and April last, which were written simply for the purpose of condemning the Rowlatt Act, otherwise known as the Black Act, and for reversal of the said Act by means of passive resistance.

The fact that Mr. Horniman supported the Satyagraha or Passive Resistance movement for reversing the Rowlatt Act and that he went on giving information to the public about the Punjab atrocities at a time, which Government regarded as inopportune, led Government to believe that he was a dangerous person and his presence in India was likely to endanger public security and tranquility. Be that as it may, those grounds no longer exist. The Rowlatt Act is practically dead and put on the official shelf. The Satyagraha Sabhas no longer exist. While Mr. Horniman was here, he himself by his letter of 17th April, 1919, advised suspension of all Satyagraha activity in view of the deplorable occurrences in the Punjab and the way in which the movement was being utilised by unscrupulous persons. Now that the Reform Bill has passed through the Parliament and received the sanction of His Majesty, neither Mr. Gandhi nor Mr. Horniman will trouble themselves about the Black Act, which is bound to be reversed by the New Council, which is to be constituted under the Bill. The energies of Mr. Hornimans as well as Mr. Gandhi will therefore be required for the purpose of the smooth working of the reforms. Mr. Horniman's advice and criticisms will be of as much use to the Government as to the people at this juncture.

To ensure a quieter atmosphere for working the new reforms it is necessary that Government should be responsive to the feelings of the people, which are now acute on the point of release of political offenders and the reversal of the deportation order against Mr. Horniman, who is universally regarded as one of the trusted tribunes of the people. In the same way Lala Goverdhandas, the editor of the "Hindvasi" and "New Call," should be immediately released and the other political offenders, who are rotting in the jail for their patriotism which is their only fault, should be released.

We are all rejoiced at the gracious act of clemency done by His Imperial Majesty towards his Indian subjects and His Majesty's message of sympathy towards Indian aspirations and we hope and trust that His Majesty's message would be carried out to the fullest extent in word and spirit by the Viceroy and the other satraps of the provinces.

We trust that Sir George Lloyd will rise to the occasion and to this act of bare justice to Mr. Horniman, Lala Gordhandas and the other political offenders and give further proof of his sympathy towards the feelings and aspirations of the people and remove unnecessary bitterness between the Government and the people before the advent of reforms.—Yours, etc.,

OBSERVER.

On Behalf of Children.

LADY LLOYD'S APPEAL.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—Will you allow me, in the columns of your newspaper, to draw public attention to a subject which has already figured there somewhat frequently of late, the subject of Children's Welfare.

No thinking man or woman will dispute that the question of combating preventible mortality and disease among young children, serious enough before the war, has, during the last five years, become one of the greatest possible urgency. If we are to breed up a generation capable of sustaining the immense new burdens and responsibilities which have been laid upon it, we must everywhere set ourselves to the task of improving the conditions of infancy, and that without delay.

Here in Bombay, where those conditions are probably as lamentable as in any city in the world, efforts have already been made by various agencies towards ameliorating them and we have the Municipal Maternity Homes and Milk Depots, the Hindu Arya Mahila Samaj, the Infant Welfare Centres Society, continuing the work begun under the Lady Willingdon Scheme, Mr. N. N. Wadia's Creche and dispensary in the Spring mill, and other like enterprises. It has been strongly felt, however, that, in view of the magonitude of the evil, it would be highly desirable to co-ordinate, as far as possible, these various isolated efforts, and largely to increase their scope. As a step towards this end, the Infant Welfare Society, whose activities have hitherto been limited to the maintenance of two welfare centres, where the children are brought weekly for advice, cheap milk, etc. have decided to amalgamate with the Women's Council Sanitation Committee, and work henceforth, under the Women's Council, as a combined Women's and Children's Welfare and Sanitation Committee. Their future programme will embrace scheme for instructing the mothers in elementary hygiene and sanitation, inculcating cleanliness and proper feeding of infants in the home, and providing lying-in rooms and skilled attendance inside the chawls for those mothers who cannot be persuaded to attend Maternity Homes. This part of the work will be carried out by properly trained and qualified sanitary workers, who will be in close touch with the Welfare Centres and Maternity Homes, and will gradually educate the poorer mothers to avail themselves of the advantage they may receive in these institutions.

In this way it is hoped that a much wider field may be covered, and that it may be possible to raise standards and effect a general improvement in health and physique.

In order to carry out these schemes successfully it is necessary to do two things: to educate public opinion and to raise a substantial sum of money. With this two-fold end in view, the Women's Council is organising a Children's Welfare Exhibition Week, to be held in the first week in March, which will comprise a very interesting and instructive series of exhibits in Child-Care and Maternity work, similar to the one shortly to be shown in Delhi, as well as a large number of attractive side shows and entertainments designed to ensure the financial success of the undertaking. A very strong Committee is in charge of these arrangements—its personnel has already been published and its proceedings will be chronicled from time to time.

I want to make an appeal to the generous and enlightened public of Bombay to give this important subject their serious consideration and to support the Exhibition Week to the utmost of their powers. In patronising it they will, I hope and believe, find a good deal of enjoyment, combined with a sense that they have definitely helped to discharge the greatest debt which one generation has towards the next—the giving it a fair start in life, with a proper share of health and strength and happinees. But I want to ask for much more than their money—for their interest and sympathy, and co-operation, and for their personal service. Voluntary helpers will be urgently needed to co-operate with the trained workers in carrying out the schemes of the Committee, and I appeal to ladies of all communities, who have leisure to help, to send in their names to—

LADY CARMICHAEL,
Chairman, Women and Children's Welfare Committee,
Women's Council Offices,
Science Institute,
Mayo Road.

No work can be more well worth doing and when we consider what satisfactory results are being achieved by the Children's Welfare movements which are going on in the West, I think we must feel that this great Eastern City shall not be left behind, and that her children too shall obtain their share of the heritage of health, if any efforts of ours can secure it to them. I remain,

Yours, etc.,

BLANCHE LLOYD.

Government House,

Bombay, Dec. 31.

MRS. BESANT AND MR. SASTRI

The London Correspondent of the "Leader" writes:—

Mrs. Besant and Mr. Sastri leave for India to-morrow. In their various ways, they have rendered admirable service to the country, Mrs. Besant, by dint of tremendous effort, on platforms all over the country, and to all kinds of audiences, has aroused a great deal of substantial interest, as that word is understood here in matters Indian—in the Bill now before Parliament, and her close association with the Labour leaders has enabled her to help them to realize that it would be doing no good to India to oppose the Bill, but she has all along held the view that, in the not very distant future, the Labour Party would come into power here, and that then a broader measure of Self-Government could fairly be expected I am not at all so sanguine on this point as Mrs. Besant appears to be. I think that the Labour Party are considerably farther away from the realisation of their ambitions, in this direction that they have imagined themselves to be before the railway strike. Still, all this is matter of prophecy which is better left to prophets. Mr. Ben Spoor, who, in this matter, appears to speak on behalf of his party, says, in a report published in to-day's "Daily Herald," that when it does come into power, it will undoubtedly pass a measure going further in the direction of Self-Government.

Of Mr. Sastri it is more difficult to speak, for so much of his work has been of that quiet and unobtrusive kind that is not advertised and does not come under the direct observation of more than a dozen people. But it is no exaggeration to say that no member of any deputation has done as much as he to give the Bill its present shape. In so many respects he has shown that he is a worthy successor to his great leader, Mr. Gokhale. In this matter, too, Mr. Gokhale's mantle seems to have fallen upon his shoulders, and he has worn that majestic garment with an ease that would have delighted his master. India has cause to feel very proud of Mr. Sastri, and it is a matter for astonishment and sorrow that such malicious attacks have been made upon him, not only in Madras, where his enemies, by their very deeds, render tribute to his great capacity and qualities, but also in Bombay, where, I hear, one of the oldest member of his party speaks of him as a 'black sheep.' May there be many more such, might well be the prayer of patriotic Indians.

The Anchor Line s.s. Circassia sailed from Liverpool for Bombay on the 20th instant.

BRITAIN TURKEY AND MOSLEMS.

BY
SYED M. RAUF ALI.

In order to grasp the significance of the events, which have led to the present crisis in the Islamic world, it is necessary to point out that the responsibility of Great Britain is exceedingly grave; not only because, His Britannic Majesty can count the largest number of Mahomedans amongst his subjects, but because at the time of declaring war on Turkey, special pains were taken by the highest authorities in India, to assure the Mussalmans of the non-religious character of the war, and solemn pledges were given that all holy places would be held sacred. It was a most trying situation for the Mussalmans of this country, for they had to decide between taking up arms against their religious head the Khalifah and obeying the behests of their secular Emperor; but no sooner had the pledge been vouchsafed than they mustered in their tens of thousands "To keep the *Izzet* of the British Raj". They felt genuinely sorry for the decision of the statesmen, who then swayed the destines of the *Porte* and some of the Indian Muslim leaders tried their level best to avert the catastrophe. But their efforts proved fruitless for two reasons, the one being, that the Germans had already gained a fast hold on the Committee of Union and Progress and the other being that the Director of the British foreign policy, Viscount Grey, belonged to the Gladstonian school, which had laid down hatred against Turkey as one of the cardinal principles of the Liberals' Foreign Policy. Under the guidance of Sir Edward Grey, as he then was, British lost most valuable opportunities of winning the Turks over to her side. The Revolution of 1908 which ushered in an era of Brotherhood and Reform in Turkey, received a cold treatment in Downing Street, although the young Turks were making frantic dmonstrations of good will before the British Ambassador's house on the Bosphorous. Then, the attitude of the British Government on the occasion of the Tripolitan War left much to be desired. So far from protecting the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, which she was bound to do, according to the treaty of Berlin, the British Government actively put obstacles in the way of the successful prosecution of the War by the Turks, by disallowing Turkish Armies to pass through Egypt. British active sympathy with Italy in her Tripolitan brigandage was based on a secret understanding with her, which came later as a painful revelation to the Islamic world. Again during the Balkan war speeches made by Mr. Asquith, the then Prime Minister, (at a time when the star of the Balkan groups seemed to be in the ascendant), clearly showed Britian's bias against the Ottoman Empire. It will be recalled that as soon as Adrianople had fallen into the hands of the Bulgarians. Mr. Asquith publicly announced that in the final setlement of he Balken Peace, no parts of the Turkish Vilayats, which were then held by the victorious Balkan Allies would be restored to Turkey, and later when Envar Pasha's *coup d' etat* brought Adrianople back to the Sultan, it is an open secret, that British diplomatic pressure was applied to give Adrianople back to the Bulgarians.

A Lost Chance.

The last chance that England had of weaning the young Turks from the German influence was on the eve of the last war. The whole Turkish nation implored the British Government to let them have the two dreadnoughts which had been built in British Dockyards with the money raised by subscriptions from Turkish widows and orphans. Sadly disappointed by the British refusal to hand over the ships to the Turkish mission, which had gone there to take charge of them, the Turks decided to buy two German ships, which seemed to constitute the turning point of Turkish foreign policy. This is briefly the history of how the Turks were consistently and almost forcibly driven into the arms of the Central Powers.

The Premier's Heartening Words.

Now, during the war, it is well-known that at times, on account of German efficiency in Science and Military Art, the prospect of the Allies became as dark as dark could be, and it must be said to the credit of England that even in moments of black despair she did not show signs of poverty in resourcefulness but made successful efforts to inspire confidence in her Allies and subjects by declaring her purpose in prosecuting the war as the pursuit of righteous ideals, and summed up in "self-determination, protection of the weak nations, and equality for all the peoples of the world" a formula which seemed really worth dying for. At a moment like this came the heartening words of the Prime Minister of Britain, who, speaking not only in the capacity of the Emperor's chief executive and administrative officer, but in the name of the whole British nation and Empire, said on the 5th January 1918 "We have arrived at the most critical hour in this terrible conflict and before any Government takes the fateful decision, as to the condition under which it ought either to terminate or continue the struggle, it ought to be satisfied that the conscience of the nation is behind these conditions, for nothing else can sustain the effort which is necessary to achieve a righteous end to this war. I have therefore, during the last few days taken special pains to ascertain the views and attitude of representative men of all sections of thought and opinion in this country. Last week I had the privilege not only of perusing the declared war aims of the Labour Party, but also of discussing in detail with Labour leaders the meaning and intention of that declaration. I have also had an opportunity of discussing the same momentous question with Mr. Asquith and Viscount Grey. I have also had the opportunity of consulting certain representatives of the great Dominions overseas. I am glad to be able to say as a result of all these discussions that although the Government are alone responsible for the actual language I propose using, there is national agreement as to the character and purpose of war aims and peace conditions, and in what I say to you to-day and through you to the world, I can venture to claim that I am speaking not merely the mind of the Government, but of the nation and of the Empire as a whole." Then to dispel doubts as regards Britain's War aims he detailed what she was not fighting for and continued, *"Nor are we fighting ..... to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands* of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are *permanently Turkish in race."*

The Pledge of Honour.

The pledge in this speech was plain and simple and created the impression in the Muslim world that Turkey's integrity, as representing the greatest Islamic tempora Power was safe so long as declared British pledges lasted. President Wilson's "Fourteen points," which ostensibly led to Turkey's capitulation, did not appear to us in India, any more important and weighty than the pledges given by the highest representative of the British people. The war came dramatically to an end last year, and our hearts began to throb with excitement to know the fate of Turkey. Dark rumours reached us from Paris, suggestive of non-fulfilment of the pledges, which produced keen anxiety. But we deliberately preferred to believe in the honour of Britain's word. Recently however, Reuter sent a summary of the Premier's Sheffield speech which has fully unmasked the real nature of Britain's Turkish policy. We are now made conscious that the thing aimed at is the extinction of Islamic temporal power. In Sir Theodore Morrison's words it will be "A breach of faith, more gross and palpable than Germany's violation of Belgium's neutrality" If Mr. Lloyd George acts in the Council which will determine the final fate of Turkey, in the spirt, which animated his Sheffield speech, then let him know, that he will be playing false to the Mussalman dead. For, it would mean that Indian Mahomedan soldiers, shed their blood in the belief, artfully induced in their minds by the Coalition Government, that they were fighting in the cause of righteousness and not against their religion, while, as a matter of fact, they were made to lay down their lives that Turkey as a Muslim Power should practically be wiped out of existence. If that is going to be the reward for shedding blood for the Empire, let England entertain no illusion as to the Muslim estimate of England's word of honour. There is yet time for British statesmen to redeem their plighted word and to demonstrate that the declarations trumped throughout the world, were not empty professions to entrap the unwary and to mislead the credulous. If the Turks are dealt with differently from the rest of the former enemies, the only conclusion we can and will draw will be that the treatment meted out to the Turks is based not on their inherent unfitness to rule but because they follow the Prophet of Arabia, and our conclusion will be a right one; for we have seen, how Bulgaria has been treated.

Why This Treatment?

Bulgaria, as every student of Balkan history knows, owes her existence, as a separate independent kingdom, to Britain first and to Russia afterwards. It was Mr. Gladstone's Christian zeal that was responsible to a very large extent for extending British patronage to this kingdom; while Russia, of the Czar period, treated it as her foster child. Whenever there was a dispute between the *Porte* and the king of the Bulgars, the whole weight of European Christendom under the leadership of Britain and Russia was thrown in the scale for Balgaria. And the people of Bulgaria had received such countless kindnesses and so many favours from Britain, that a century of devoted and loyal friendship to her would have been unequal to discharge her obligation and yet in the dark hour of Britain's trial she turned against both her benefactors Britain and Russia, The Bulgarian Peace Treaty is now signed. What do we find in it? Bulgarians are masters in their homes. (Without any mandatory power holding aloft the torch of civilization for their guidance), with an outlet to the sea, a privilege which they could not get during pre-war times. No such act of faithlessness and ingratitude can be alleged against the Turks. As friends they were true and as enemies they proved chivalrous, fighting a clean fight, and in war showed their earnest desires to stand well with the British race, and yet how are they going to be treated for all this? It is proposed that they should be driven out of Constantinople and Thrace and even for their Homelands a Christion mandatory should be found. Why is there this difference of treatment? The only possible answer seems to be that they are Mussalmans. If the Turks were a Christian nation, "Turkey would not have become more troublesome in peace than in war." And if Mr. Lloyd George's indefensible attitute as exhibited in his recent utterances contribute to the Allies' mastery of Thrace, Constantinople and other Turkish provinces we shall have no alternative left but to hold Britain very largely responsible for the calamity which will thus befall Islam. Thus we have considered the facts which determine the degree of Britain's responsibility in bringing about the present crisis into the Islamic world. Nor is it all; for the manner in which Turkey's rich provinces are proposed to be partitioned and entrusted to the mandatory case of various Powers is bound to prove a potent cause of acute dissatisfaction throughout Asia. Our Hindu compatriot's splendid demonstration of deep and genuine sympathy with us at this time is proof of the fact that the unjust treatment of Turkey at the hands of the Allies is already evoking the genuine friendship of other non-Moslem Asiatics. We are aware that our Hindu fellow countrymen are, in this instance moved by the highest ethical motives, and the noblest feelings of true comradeship which augur well for the future of India as well as of Asia. Now it is not necessary to dilate on the ramifications of this question touching all the Allies. It is quite enough for us to know that the so-called agreement between the Allies regarding the fate of Turkey cannot possibly be carried into effect without the active countenance of England, and as we are primarily connected with Great Britain, we need not go beyond Britain's Turkish policy.

MR. POCHKHANAWALLA.

BANK MANAGER ENTERTAINED.

A pleasing function took place last Sunday at Babu Keshoram Poddar's garden house in Barrackpore Trunk Road in Calcutta where Mr. Sorabji M. Pochkhanawalla, chief manager of the Central Bank of India was entertained at a garden party by Babu Rampursad Chimmonlal.

There was a big gathering of European and Parsi ladies and gentlemen besides Marwaris and other merchants of Calcutta and Bombay. Rai Sahib Ram Dev Chowkhani in a few well chosen words referred to the capabilities of Mr. Sorabji as a banker and felt sure that under his expert guidance and knowledge the bank would have a most successful career.

Sir Nilratan Sircar following spoke in eloquent terms of the achievements of th bank in which Mr. Sorabji was interested and observed that Bengalis would emulat the sterling qualities of Mr. Sorabji, so a to benefit their country in the field of commerce and industries.

Mr. Sorabji in reply said that he did that he was not worthy of all that was said of him, as he was only a part of the institution, the Central Bank the success of which was mainly due to the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and to Mr. Billimoria the present chairman. In his closing remarks he observed that Calcutta afforded a wide field for Banking Commerce and Industries He had great hopes that the Bank unde Indian management and the enterprising Marwaris and other Indian communities would still have a greater measure of support and success in the future.—"The Empire".

EXEMPTIONS FROM ARMS ACT LICENCES

A Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay, states:—

In continuation of the Press Note issued on the 3rd November, 1919, it is hereby notified that the Government of India have now decided that individual members of the following classes who have now the privilege of exemption from the obligation of taking out licenses under the Arms Act should continue to be exempt for their lifetime from the necessity of taking out licenses for arms in respect of which they are at present exempted:—

(a) Every member of any Order of Knighthood.

(b) Every person who holds the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal.

(c) Every person who bears a title conferred or recognized by the Government of India.

(d) Every person who holds a sword of honour or other arms, received as a gift from the Government of India or a Local Government.

(e) Every person who holds a certificate received on the occasion of the assumption of the title of Empress of India by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria.

(f) Every retired military officer who was pensioned before the 1st January, 1920.

(g) Every person who has been exempted by the Local Government on personal grounds under entry 15 (a) of the existing Schedule I, as being a landlord or member of a Municipal Board or Committee.

(h) 2nd and 3rd class Sardars of the Deccan and 2nd class Sardars of Gujarat.

A CO-OPERATIVE GRAIN SHOP.

The Bombay Co-operative Stores, Ltd. have opened a Grain Shop at Pannalal Terraces near Grant Road, Tram Terminus where all kinds of grains will be sold a moderate prices to the members and th prospective members.

The Stores have been registered unde The Co-operative Societies Act for openin shops on Co-operative lines in Bombay in cluding suburbs and the above is the first ste in this direction. The second step will be to open a shop to sell other necessaries of life such as Cloth Hosiery, Groceries, Medcines, etc., and for this purpose the manag ing committee has been able to secure goo premises just near the Junction of the Churni Road with the Sandhurst Road, a plac easily approachable to persons living in Girgaon and Grant Road localities.

The business of the Stores will be carrie on under the Presidency of Rao Bahadu S. S. Talmaki, B.A., LL.B., a prominen Co-operator assisted by an elected supervising Council of leading Co-operators, th immediate control being vested in a manag ing committee of twelve working under the Chairmanship of Mr. J. R. Gharpure, B.A. LL.B., High Court Pleader. The Leading Co-operators of the town have already joined as members.

The capital of the Stores is Rs. 100,000 divided into 20.000 shares of Rs. 5 each a sum within the reach of persons of small means. Those desirous of being members can now purchase shares by applying by letter or in person on the following address on an week days between 7 and 8 p.m. (S. T.). The management is also prepared to consider offers for fixed deposits.

Any further information shall be gladly furnished by the Hony. Secretary.

Address:—
The Bombay Co-operative Stores, Ltd.,
10/12 Harkisandas Narotamdas Hospital,
Churni Road, Bombay 4.

FATALITY IN BULLOCK CART STABLE.

The Coroner held an inquest on the body of a Hindu woman, Baijabai aged 40, living in a bullock-cart stable at Colaba. It was stated that on the midnight of 29th December the deceased told her husband that she had been trampled upon her stomach by a bullock, and she was taken to the G. T. Hospital the next morning, where she was treated and allowed to go away. She, however, complained of pain in the abdomen in the afternoon and died soon after. The Police Surgeon, Dr. Nunan, was of the opinion that the cause of death was internal hoemorrhage and rupture of the small intestine. The jury returned a verdict accordingly and added that apparently the case was one of treatment as an inpatient in the Gokuldas Tejpal Hospital, from the dispensary of which the deceased had been given medicine and allowed to go.

THIRD BENE ISRAEL CONFERENCE.

POVERTY PREVENTS PROGRESS.

The proceedings of the Third Bene-Israel Conference were commenced yesterday at the Byramji Hall, Babula Tank Road. Mr. Ezra Reuben of Junagadh presided.

Dr. Jacob Ezekiel, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, whilst welcoming the President and the delegates, referred to the various activities of the community during the past year. He said that they had to pass through great difficulties owing to the world war the cost of living having been enormously raised, the progress of the community in many respects had to be hampered. He also referred to the heavy mortality in the community and said that it was due to poverty and insufficient and adulterated foodstuff—chiefly milk. He said a scheme for providing pure milk at cheap rates to the members of the community was under consideration and soon would be launched before them. A scheme for a Provident Fund and Co-operative Housing arrangement was also said to be under contemplation.

The President after announcing a donation of Rs. 100 from the firm of Messrs. D. Abraham and Sons for meeting the expenses of the session of the Conference and reading a telegram from Mr. D. J. Solomon of Junagadh, wishing the Conference every success, delivered his opening speech, in the course of which he remarked that the community ought to express its gratefulness to His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor for his generous response to the Indian demands, which was declared in the recent proclamation: He then reviewed the activities of the community during the past year and remarked that during that year four members, including one lady, were graduated. The lady graduate, referred to, was Miss Jerusha J. Jhirad who had obtained the degree of M.D. of the London University, carrying the highest marks in Medicines. He paid a tribute of congratulation to her. A scheme for an orphanage and a Widows' Home was formed and a site for the purpose had already been taken possession of. He said they had to encounter so many difficulties too. During the year, under review, they had done much, but much more there remained to be done. The evil that prevented the progress was poverty which creates ignorance, sorrow, sickness and early grave. Unless they removed the root cause of that evil there would be little hope for future progress. He opined that the only means of ridding the poverty is the promotion of Co-operative and Economic movements. He explained to them how the carpenters could own Saw Mills and cartmen could buy their own carriages, etc., for hire, by co-operative system.

The further proceedings were postponed to to-day.

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED.

The adjourned proceedings of the Third Bene-Israel Conference were resumed on Wednesday at the Byramji Hall, Babula Tank Road—Mr. Ezra Reuben of Junagadh, presiding, when the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

The president moved:—

"That this the Third Conference of the Bene-Israel Community which has supplied soldiers to the Indian Army from the commencement of the British rule in India, and many members of which played their humble parts in the recent great war, meeting as it does shortly after the Peace Celebration rejoices at the victorious termination of the war and expresses its sense of deep loyalty and devotion to the person and throne of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor.

The resolution was unanimously passed.

The president moved another resolution which too was unanimously carried. The resolution reads as follows:—

That this conference tenders its grateful thanks to His Majesty the King-Emperor for His Gracious Proclamation of sympathy towards the Indian people and a generous response to their aspirations.

That copies of the above resolutions be forwarded to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay under the signature of the President.

GRATITUDE TO BRITAIN AND ALLIES.

Several more resolutions offering grateful thanks to the Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, for having successfully piloted the Reform Bill through the Parliament; mourning the death of Mr. Abraham Samuel Nagarkar, the first graduate in the Bene-Israel community; congratulating Dr. Miss J. J Jhirad, for being the first lady from the community to secure the highly coveted degree of M.D., of the University of London; expressing the gratitude of the community to the British Government and to the British people who were the first nation after two thousand years to acknowledge publicly the Jews' rights and privileges as a free community and to the Allied and Associated Powers who had adopted as an essential element of the Peace Conference the British Government's declaration in favour of a Jewish National Home in Palestine; reiterating the necessity of Synagogues and Prayer-halls, opening religious classes for children, and Hebrew reading-classes for the study of Jewish history and religion for the use of the Bene-Israel, were carried.

At the end of the day's proceedings Prof. Geddes who was present on the occasion delivered a speech enlightening the audience on the new University of Jerusalem which, he said: would either be the 244th Uuniversity of the world or the first of an ideal university.

Further proceedings were adjourned to Thursday.

COTTON.

(From our Correspondent.)

Dec. 31.

The Mahwadi bazaar opened at noon at Rs. 551 for Fully Good Broach April-May, and closed at 3 p.m. as under. During the time the bazaar was open the highest price for Broach was Rs. 554, and the lowest Rs. 553.

The market will be entirely closed to-morrow 1st January) for New Year's Day.

MAHSUDS LIKELY TO AGREE TO TERMS.

WANA-WAZIRS DESERTING MAHSUDS

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

DELHI, Dec. 29.

It is officially announced that since the 22nd instant, Mahsud action has been confined to a few small attacks on our piquets. Their casualties on the 21st instant are known to have been over two hundred, while an uncorroborated report places their total losses during the recent fighting at three hundred and eighty killed and five hundred and sixty wounded. On the 27th instant a Mahsud Jirga came into Jandola, and when interviewed by the political agent agreed to accept our terms. A further Jirga which is expected to be fully representative, will be interviewed by the General Office Commanding on the 29th instant. Should they not accept the terms our advance will continue till they surrender the security rifles and pay the fine demanded. The Mahsuds at Kotkai are now said to number one thousand under Mulla Fazl Din who did not attend the Jirga at Jandola on the 27th. A large number of the Wana Wazirs helping the Mahsuds have returned to their homes.

PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT TO INDIA.

RAJA OF MAHMUDABAD'S PROPOSAL TO PERPETUATE IT.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

LUCKNOW, Dec. 30.

In view of the coming visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales next year, the Raja of Mahmudabad as President of the British Indian Association, has moved the Talukdars of Oudh to take steps for the perpetuation of the visit like that of his illustrious father who laid the foundation-stone of the magnificent institution, named after him, the King George Medical College, when he visited Lucknow. The Rojah's proposal is that H. R. H. the Prince of Wales should lay the foundation-stone of the Oudh University which should be named after his Royal Highness. A number of Talukdars have already approved of the scheme and are ready to co-operate substantially.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT GAZETTE.

(THURSDAY, Jan. 1.)

Major E. R. L. Browning, First Brahmans, to be Assistant Political Resident, Perim, in addition to his military duties vice Captain Cockayne who held charge of the appointment from the 28th March 1919.

Mr. H. K. Kirpalani, I.C.S., is allowed privilege leave for three months with effect from 10th January 1920.

Mr. G. A. Richardson O.B.E., is appointed to be Controller of Hostile Trading Concerns in Aden vice Captain John de la Hay Gordon, O.B.E., M.C., with effect from 8th December 1919.

Mr. J. P. Chrystal to be a member of the Cotton Contracts Board vice Mr. W. G. McKee resigned.

His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to create a temporary appointment of a Sixth Grade Deputy Collector for the period extending from 16th October 1919 to 21st November 1919 and to appoint Mr. Ali Nawas Mirza Muhamad Rahim Beg to hold it and to do duty in Sind.

Mr. R. P. Pandit to do duty as District Deputy Collector, Dharwar, with effect from the 1st October 1919 pending relief by Mr. A. S. R. Maclin, I. C. S.

Mr. Walter Nigel Usher Dunlop, appointed bl His Majesty's Secretary of State for India a member of His Majesty's Covenanted Civil Service on the Bombay Establishment and is posted as Assistant Collector in Sind.

The Hon Mr. C. N. Seddon, I.C.S., to be on special duty in connection with the Reforms Scheme.

M. B. A. Brendon, I.C.S., to act as Commissioner, C.D., vice the Honourable Mr. C. N. Seddon, I.C.S., pending further orders.

Mr. A. R. Dalal, I.C.S., to act as Collector Ratnagiri vice Mr. B. A. Brendon, I.C.S., pending further orders.

Mr. Vinayak Narayan Bhide, appointed by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India a member of His Majesty's Convenanted Civil Service on theBombay Establishment and has been appointed Assistant Collector, Ahmedabad.

Khan Saheb A. I. Shaikh, First Assistant Professor, Bombay Veterinary College, is granted, with effect from the date of relief, privilege leave for six months.

Mr. K. Hewlett, O.B.E., I.C.V.D., Principal Bombay Veterinary College, is granted, with effect from the date of relief, such privilege leave on full pay as may be due to him in combination with furlough for such period as will bring the combined period up to six months.

Mr. M. H. Sowerby, Assistant Principal Bombay Veterinary College, to act as Principal.

Mr. N. D. Dhakmarwala, First Professor at the Bombay Veterinary College to act as Assistant Principal.

Mr. K. B. Nair, Lecturer at the Bombay Veterinary College, to act as Assistant Professor in the arrangements consequent on Mr Dhakmarwala's appointment as Assistant Principal.

Mr. Krishnaji Govind Pundlik to be Head Master, Dhulia Training School, vice Mr. Krishnaji Ganesh Joshi promoted to the Indian Educational Service.

Mr. Krishnaji Govind Pundlik to be Head Master, Dhulia Training School, on Rs. 400 per mensem vice Mr. Krishnaji Ganesh Joshi promoted to the Indian Educational Service.

Krishnalal Ramakunt Sharma.

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TERROR IN PUNJAB.

AND INEXCUSABLE ITY OF ADMINISTRATION."

EPARATION, JUSTICE AND SAFEGUARDS

TERRITORIAL ARMY FOR INDIA.

S. SIVASWAMY'S ADDRESS.

ding portion of the Sir. P. S. Sivaswamy's Presidential speech ference.

subject which d of the public pf constitutonial n the Punjab es taken by the n attracted the d interest at the lawlessness com- published at the kept equally e authorities and measures adopted n of order. The d from the Punjab l. Accused persons ices of counsel from rigorous censorship ss and security was hich had the teme- the manner in which ed. Such information, and was published r the land. While expressed their destruction of mmunications and mmitted by the of all measures e suppression of duty to condemn ies administering he prompt with- delay of several ttee of Enquiry nquiry has been is to be deeply ent should not d the sentences were convicted ible them to be them was o give instruc- nation of the nate that for this mittee to whose ungrudging tribute ecided to withhold Committee and let in of the people. Not- antages, the evidence nt and especially the an officers who were restoring order, has on the administration ose eventful months. le have confirmed the e public as to the barbarity of the ad- ve created a feeling roughout the country. hat the inquiry is not. siderable measure of expressing an opinion ing before them. It esirable at this stage to the causes of the the necessity for the force or for the intro- ; but the evidence rs which has been ade it abundantly was continued long , if any, had ceased, by the military autho- were far in excess of situation and that the ers concerned were not tions of scommon sense, y. Whether the dis- us localities amounted n is a matter which resent, to the decision is well settled that easure of the duration ce to be employed for nsurrection and resto- is only when it is im- y courts of law to sit on of their judgments be indulged. There is except perhaps during tely following the dis- civil courts could not

on of the legality of the trial of offences ribunals, there was he continuance of uance of the special nces had been put by courts-martial would serve as an and help to keep dience is no justi- ablishment or con- t is also clear that no right to treat orders as offences nish people for in- Let us turn our osed in the eviden- n witnesses. The ireds of unarmed without giving the isperse, the indif- the condition of were wounded in guns into crowds n to their heels , the order com- to walk 16 miles t and detention , the compelling ttend on parade imposing upon nsibility for the s stuck on their

properties, the flogging of a marriage party, the censorship of mails, the closure of the Badshahi mosque for six weeks, the arrest and detention of people without any substantial reason and especially of people who had rendered services to the State in connection with the War Fund or otherwise, the flogging of six of the biggest boys in the Islamiah school simply because they happened to be school boys and to be big boys, the construction of an open cage for the confinement of arrested persons, the invention of novel punishments like the crawling order, the skipping order and others unknown to any system of law, civil or military, the hand-cuffing and roping together of persons and keeping them in open trucks for 15 hours, the use of aeroplanes and Lewis guns and the latest paraphernalia scientific warfare against unarmed citizens, the taking of hostages and the confiscation and destruction of property for the purpose of securing the attendance of absentees, the hand cuffing of Hindus and Muhammadans in pairs with the object of demonstrating the consequences of Hindu-Muslman unity, the cutting off of electric and water supplies from Indian houses, the removal of fans from Indian houses and giving them for use by Europeans, the commanderring of all vehicles owned by Indian and giving them to Europeans for use, the feverish disposal of cases with the object of forestalling the termination of martial law, are some of the many incidents of the administration of martial law, which created a reign of terror in the Punjab and have shoked the public.

INEPTITUDE OF PRESENT GOVT. SYSTEM.

It is a strange feature of the mental constitution of those military officers that they should have imagined that the steps they took were a remedy for the sullenness of the people and a means for promoting the popularity of the government. We are naively told by General Sir William Benyon that instead of being unduly severe, the administration erred on the side of leniency and that he and Sir Michael O'Dwyer approved of General Dyer's exploit. It is inconceivable that such things can ever happen under the name of martial law in England or even in Ireland. That they could have happened in India shows the ineptitude of the present system of government. It is obvious that the Government of India must have regarded the opposition to the Rowlatt Bill as a direct challenge of their authority and as a trial of strength between the people and the government and that having given their promise of support to the local authorities, they were prevented by panic and love of prestige from listening to the representations of Indian leaders, or making any attempt to see things for themselves. It is no wonder that the hearts of our people have been stirred by these doings to their inmost depts. The indecent haste with which the Indemnity Bill was rushed through the Imperial Council is now intelligible. It will also be clear how wellfounded the objection of the people was to the provisions of the Rowlatt Bill which entrust the liberties of the subject to the mercy of the executive.

We do not know what the findings of the Enquiry Committee may be; but if we may be allowed to voice the wishes of the people we should ask, (1) for reparation for all serious hardship and suffering caused by unwarranted acts of severity, (2) for steps being taken to bring to justice any officials, high or low, civil or military, who may be found to have acted unreasonably and in excess of their powers or authorised such acts, (3) for the provision of safeguards against the recurrence of such things in the future and (4) for the abolition of flogging in the Indian Army. Let us see what reasonable safeguards it is possible to suggest. One remedy which may perhaps be thought of is that in dealing with internal outbreaks the civil authorities should only invoke the aid of military forces, but should not allow the introduction of martial law. This suggestion raises a very large and in view of the incidents of the martial law regime in Ireland, Egypt, India and Ceylon may deserve consideration, but it seems to me doubtful whether it is likely to be entertained as a practical proposition. No enactment of any declaration of rights as suggested by our friends in the Congress can avert the possibility of the introduction of martial law; for, by the very nature of the case matrial law is a creature of necessity and transcends all law. Martial law is a state of no law where the will of the General who commands the army prevails; but if, as is only too likely, the abolition of martial law for the purpose of suppressing internal outbreaks is put aside as an impracticable suggestion, we are entitled to ask that the constitutional limitations to which its exercise and duration are subject according to the opinions of eminent English jurists shall be authoritatively set forth either in a statute or in a memorandum of instructions to be issued to the Governor-General. It should be made clear that martial law should not be introduced, unless it is impossible for the civil courts to sit and exercise their functions. It is further necessary that the power of creating new offences for breach of regulations and providing penalties therefor should not be delegated to Military Officers and that if courts-martial and civil courts are both sitting, any person not subject to the Naval Discipline Act or to Military Law, who is alleged to be guilty of the contravention of any regulation should be allowed to claim to be tried by a Civil Court instead of by a Court-Martial.

The happenings in the Punjab have emphasised the necessity for providing that the Indian element in the Executive Council of the Viceroy shall be at least equal to the European element. They point to the urgent need for the cheapening and quickening of cable communications with England. They have also demonstrated the evil effects of a prolonged exodus to the hills and the consequent isolation of the government from the world of humanity beneath.

PRESS ACT.

The manner in which the Press Act has been administered has brought into prominence the necessity for a revision of it on radical lines. While I am prepared to concede that the provisions for security and forfeiture would serve a useful purpose in dealing with sedition and more especially with Bolshevism at our frontier, I am inclined to think that the deposit of security should not be demanded in the first instance and should be called for only upon its being shown to the satisfaction of a court that the liberty of the press has been abused. Forfeiture also should be made consequential upon an order of the court to be obtained by the Local Government on proof of publication of objectionable matter. The conditions in the Press Act entailing forfeiture are expressed in such wide terms that it has been found that the safeguard of an application to the High Court is practically illusory. An amendment of the Act on the lines here suggested would remove a keenly-felt grievance and is especially necessary in view of the need for encouraging the growth of a vigorous and honest press under the new conditions of administration.

NATIONAL DEFENCE.

Even more than the subject of constitutional reform the question of the re-organisation of the military system of the country is vitally connected with the growth of our nationhood within the empire. It is unfortunate that the scope of the reference to the Indian Army Re-organisation Committee recently appointed with Lord Esher as its President should have been so restricted and that it should have included only one real representative of Indian public opinion. It is also a cruel irony of fate that Sir Michael O'Dwyer whose repressive measures have provoked a strom of ;ndignation throughout India should not merely be a member but the President of the Committee during its inquiry in India. For years past we have been asking that the commissioned ranks in the regular army shall be thrown open to Indians on a liberal scale under conditions which will be compatible with military efficiency. The contention that Indians are only fit to be employed as sepoys under the leadership of British officers and are not qualified for the highest ranks is too hollow to be put forward with any show of plausibility. Even under the existing conditions men who have risen from the ranks to Indian commissions have acquitted themselves with credit. Modern wars are becoming more and more scientific and a country which does not employ the best brains and talents in its army is bound to go to the wall in any conflict with the forces of any of the modern powers. One possible objection to the employment of the educated classes in the army is that they may use their military knowledge, training and influence against the government. But are not the educated classes those who can most clearly realize the manifold advantages of membership of the British Empire and has not their loyalty been amply demonstrated by their conduct during the war and by their sincere solicitude for partnership within the British Empire? To adopt the language of the Joint Report, "we believe profoundly that the time has now come when the sheltered existence which we have enjoyed in India, cannot be prolonged without damage to our national life." The war has painfully brought home to the mind of every Indian his military helplessness and inutility and has quickened the desire for self-reliance for all purposes of national life. We wish to have the fullest scope for the cultivation of the manly virtues and for attainment of the full stature of our manhood so that we may be able to defend ourselves against any external aggression or internal disorder. In the words of His Majesty, the progress of a country cannot be consummated without the right of her people to manage her affairs and safeguard her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty, an Imperial interest and pride. As a preparation for the goal of responsible government which has been definitely announced as the objective of British rule and in fulfilment of the pledge of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration we are entitled to demand that the policy which has hitherto guided the administration of the army in India shall be changed, and that the pledges contained in the great proclamation of Queen Victoria should be fulfilled. The continuance of our exclusion from the commissioned ranks is a slur upon our capacity and loyalty. The problem of commissions is stated in the Joint Report to bristle with difficulties, the most serious difficulty probably being the one created by the prejudice of Military Officers against the possibility of service under Indian officers. But the beginning of an attempt has been made towards breaking down the barrier and let us hope that the change in the angle of vision of the British public and of British statesmen which is alleged to have been brought about by comradeship in arms and by participation in the perils, hardships and sacrifices of the war may overcome the prejudice and opposition of the military authorities, and promote a sympathetic view of our aspirations. Our desire to take the same part in the military organisation of our own country as is enjoyed by the subjects of British colonies in theirs will not be satisfied by the grant of commissions alone.

WANTED TERRITORIAL ARMY FOR INDIA.

We claim that Indians shall be freely admitted to employment in all arms of the defensive organisation of the country including the artillery, the navy and the air-force and that no time should be lost in taking steps for the organisation of a territorial army which will serve as an auxiliary force to the Indian army. We do not know anything of the contents of the report which must have been presented to the Imperial Government by Lord Jellicoe with reference to the naval defence of India, but costly as any scheme of naval defence must be, we shall be prepared to cheerfully shoulder our burdens on the condition that the Indian section of the navy is manned and officered by Indians. The Indians employed on board the mercantile marine have given ample proofs of their capacity, pluck, sense of duty and discipline and there can be no doubt that we have sufficient material in our sea-faring population for the manning of naval crews. Knowing as you do how the two young Bengalees who were admitted into the Royal air force and those who were sent to the front in various other capacities distinguished themselves, do you have any reasonable doubt that if the opportunities are given the necessary personnel required for the air service will be forthcoming? Provision should be made in India for giving the highest standard of instruction in military and engineering, in the construction and management of aircraft and submarines, in the knowledge of tactics and in all the technical and administrative subjects required for members of the general staff. It is possible that our demands may not be readily granted, but we must make up our minds to carry on a strenuous agitation in England till we gain our object.

You will probably have noticed the announcement in the papers that the Government of India intend to introduce during the next Delhi session of the Viceregal Council a bill for the constitution of an auxiliary force of European subjects. Is it not significant that there is no mention of any intention to introduce a similar measure for the voluntary training of Indians? We must of course recognise that the question of universal service is for some time to come put out of the pale of practical politics by the immensity of our population, but there is no reason why the formation of an auxiliary Indian force on a voluntary basis and in sufficiently large numbers and at least on a scale which will bear the same proportion to the European Auxiliary Force as the Indian army bear to the British units in India, should not be taken in hand. I have heard it said that the response which was made in the year 1917 to the call for voluntary enlistment in the Indian Defence Force was not satisfactory. This is not the time or place to go into the history of this question, nor am I in a position to speak with reference to the response in the other provinces, but having been connected with recruitment to the Indian branch of the Indian Defence Force in the Madras Presidency I am in a position to contradict, so far as Madras is concerned, the statements that have appeared in the Viceregal Legislative Council and in influential journals on this subject. Notwithstanding the fact that the Indian section was treated as the Cinderella of the Indian Defence Force and the numerous difficulties we had to contend against, the establishment of the First Madras Infantry was brought up to full strength and the question of augmenting this branch of the Indian Defence Force was being considered by the Army Headquarters. I may add that the military authorities who from time to time inspected our recruits were satisfied with their progress and attainments.

ARMS ACT.

The invidious racial distinctions underlying the rules framed under the Arms Act used to be the subject of complaint in Congress after Congress and it is a matter of satisfaction that the Government of India have at least taken action by their resolution of the 21st March, 1919, to abolish all distinctions of a racial character and to provide facilities for the taking out of licenses.

INDIANS IN AFRICA.

While the sisterhood of India in the nations of the British Empire has been acknowledged in the war and peace conferences and in the League of Nations, the treatment accorded to our citizens in the self-governing dominions of the Empire is calculated, not merely, to wound our sense of self-respect, but to bring about the expulsion of the Indian settlers by a steady policy of humiliation and persecution. The subject was mooted at the Imperial War Conference by Sir S. P. Sinha (now Lord Sinha) and the views of the Indian representatives were embodied in a memorandum prepared by him. The resolution passed at the War Conference of 1918 recognised that it was an inherent function of the governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth including India that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restrictions on immigration from any of the other communities. As regards the questions raised with reference to the position of immigrants who were already settled in the self-governing dominions, the Conference recommended them for early consideration to the various governments concerned and Sir S. P. Sinha expressed the hope that on the return of General Smuts he might be able in process of time to remove all or at any rate some of the grievances. The news, however, we have received from South Africa are of a very disquieting character. The Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Act which has been passed this year extends the restrictions of the Boer Law III of 1885 by prohibiting Indians from acquiring property either by way of transfer to company or by means of mortgage except as security for a *bona fide* loan. A telegram received about a week ago from Bloemfontein stated that in the course of a speech General Smuts referring to the Asiatic quesion declared that a fresh invasion had been stopped but a new danger had arisen especially in connection with trade and that steps would have to be taken. We are not informed what exactly the danger referred to is, or what steps are contemplated by General Smuts. In view however of the broad-minded statesmanship of General Smuts it is to be hoped that he may exercise his influence in favour of justice to the Indian settlers. We are glad to be able to acknowledge the efforts of the Government of India to protect the interests of the Indian settlers. The Union Government have agreed to the representation of Indian interests before the Committee by Sir Benjamin Robertson and an Indian representative and we have to await the result of the investigations of this Committee which has been appointed in response to the demands of the Anti-Asiatic League. It has sometimes been suggested that the objection to the Indian settler is based not upon racial prejudice but upon economic grounds and that by unfair competition he injures the interests of the white labourer or tradesman. We can appreciate the force of econor[illegible]ctions but the remedy in such cases would be rather to prescribe minimum rates of wages and admit the Indian workman to membership of Working Men's Unions and if necessary to prescribe that the Indian workman or tradesman should live in houses conforming to the same standard of sanitary or other conditions as may be reasonably prescribed for the corresponding classes of white settlers. The economic objection, however, is merely a cloak for the deeper objection based on racial prejudice. The colour prejudice of the white races and the commercial greed which tempts them to mark off vast regions of the surface of the earth for their exploitation threaten to be the most disruptive force of humanity and are an abiding menace to the peace of the world.

THE CRY FROM E. AFRICA.

Equally disconcerting news has been cabled to us by Mr. Andrews from East Africa, where a united attempt is being made by the European associations to close the door against future immigration and to stop Indian franchise. Moral depravity is said to have been the result of Indian contact and the South African exclusion policy is approved.

We know what value to attach to these allegations against our countrymen. Mr. Gandhi has pointed out that it is the Indian who was the pioneer settler in East Africa long before a single European set foot on East African soil and who developed the uplands of East Africa. The crusade against our countrymen is inspired by the same feelings of racial prejudice and trade jealousy that have actuated the white settlers in their relations with our countrymen in other parts of the world. The significance of the agitation of the European associations is not confined to British East Africa alone. Under the terms of article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which provides for a mandate to advanced nations for the administration of the former German Colonies, it is distinctly provided that the mandatory power must secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of all other members of the League. It was pointed out some time ago by the Paris correspondent of "The Times" that the mandate drafted for the administration of German East Africa which was typical of the mandates for the German Colonies in Central Africa included provisions establishing absolute equality of trade for the subjects and citizens of all the high contracting parties. The correspondent observed that complete equality of trade had for many years existed in such British protectorates as Nigeria and East Africa and that the same practice and policy would be carried out by Great Britain in German East Africa. The threatened interference with the rights of our countrymen in British East Africa is bound to be the precursor of a similar policy of injustice in German East Africa. As India is an original member of the League of Nations, Great Britain is bound to protect our rights and strictly maintain the policy of the open door to His Majesty's Indian subjects and citizens. It is our duty to support our countrymen in their claim to the exercise of civil, municipal and political rights and to appeal to the Imperial Government to discharge their obligations under the mandate.

EDUCATION.

The reform and improvement of our educational system is an essential condition of our national progress. The subject has been most carefully examined by the Calcutta University Commission which was fortunate in its personnel and especially in securing the services of Sir Michael Sadler as its President. No commission that has ever sat in this country has brought to bear a greater wealth of experience, sympathy and wisdom upon the discharge of its task. Where can we find a more generous appreciation of the merits and aptitudes of Indian students, a more sympathetic understanding of the defects and requirements of students and of the limitations and difficulties under which the vast army of teachers has to work, or a keener perception of the needs of an awakened nation? The dissatisfaction with our system of education which has been felt by the public for years has been proved to be well-founded. They have found defects in our educational organisation from top to bottom and pointed out how the primary school system is out of touch with the actual needs of the community, how extremely inefficient the secondary school system is and how it renders the pupils unfit for useful occupations and how the arts colleges have failed to realise the aims of University education. They have recommended a comprehensive scheme of reforms covering the whole field of education and the new machinery which they have proposed for enlisting the active co-operation of the public, for co-ordinating all educational agencies and for the reorganisation of the teaching profession must command general acceptance. It is a matter for satisfaction that the subject of education as a whole is to be transferred to popular control, a result to which Sir Michael Sadler largely contributed by his evidence before the Joint Committee. It will rest with our new legislatures and ministers to set about at once to carry out, as far as may be, the recommendations of the Sadler Commission subject to any modifications that may be suggested by special local conditions. The provision of facilities for the preparation of our youth for callings in agriculture, commerce, engineering and other walks of life, the extension of facilities for the education of the backward and the depressed classes and the expansion of primary education must engage the unremitting attention of our reformed councils. Care has to be taken also that in the inrush of new ideas which will follow the introduction of the reforms, the preservation of what is precious and vital in Indian thought and culture is not neglected.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

In view of the extreme poverty of our country compared with the standard of any other civilized country, the want of suitable openings in life for our youth, and the need for making the country as self-contained as possible the problems of economic development are of tremendous importance. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission presided over by Sir Thomas Holland makes a wide survey of the situation and offers recommendations calculated to achieve the ends we all have so much at heart. Some of the recommendations have been the subject of adverse criticism and it is not for laymen to pronounce an opinion on matters where experts differ. Among other things referred to in the report of the Commission I should like to draw your special attention to the need for the encouragement of shipbuilding in our own waters and for the creation of a mercantile marine. It is one of the gratifying results of the war that change has come in the angle of vision of the government in regard to the policy to be adopted for the encouragement of industries. It is also a matter for satisfaction that the subject of industries has been proposed by the Joint Committee for transfer to popular control but in view of the discussion in the House of Lords we have to see to it that this proposal is not modified or abandoned in the rules to be made under the statute. The question of tariffs which was excluded from the scope of the inquiry by the Commission will have to be carefully considered by our public men in the light of the experience of progressive countries like Japan and the United States and with due regard to the interests of the country as a whole and especially of the poorer consuming classes. Apart from any question of the bearing of tariffs upon the encouragement of industries, it is also worthy of consideration whether the customs duties which form an imperial source of revenue may not be raised to some extent as a matter of pure fiscal policy so as to relieve the provincial governments of a considerable part of the burden of contribution to the Central Government. In connection with the subject of economic regeneration, the treatment of labour is bound to come into prominence and will require to be solved with the fullest sympathy. No economic progress can be considered satisfactory which is not accompanied by an amelioration of the conditions of the labouring classes, by securing to them a fair subsistence which will enable them to secure healthy and cleanly conditions of living and some share of the amenities of life. It is only by a timely attention to these problems and their wise solution that it will be possible to avert the class conflicts which are threatening to break up and destroy society in the west.

The subjects now proposed to be transferred include the most important and growing departments of public administration: Education, Industries, Local self-government, medical administration and public health, agriculture, co-operation and excise. They are the subjects which are most vitally connected with the health, well-being and prosperity of the people and in which the stimulus of popular control will be most fruitful of results. The field of work is as large as it is interesting. But there is another task which, is even more arduous and that is the training of the electorates who will be our masters. In several respects government by a responsible ministry is more difficult than government by bureaucratic methods. You have not merely to persuade the masses to appreciate the blessings of a progressive administration but to convince them that they are worth paying for. The system of administration which has been laboriously built up is efficient; though costly, and any impairment of efficiency is bound to react on the interests of the public. The margin for retrenchment of expenditure will be found to be small and the necessity for additional taxation will have to be squarely faced by the new councils and ministry. The electorates will have to be educated to an appreciation of the needs of the whole body-politic and to a sense of just proportion between the various objects of expenditure. With the experience of other countries behind us, we have to learn to avoid the vices and pitfalls of democracy. The temptation to appeal to ignorance or to sectional interests, to hold out promises that are incapable of fulfilment has to be resisted. The preparation of a programme of constructive work is one of the tasks that lie immediately before us. It may not be possible for us here and now to chalk out a detailed programme of constructive work in all the departments which are to come under popular control and it may have to be entrusted to a committee and carried out in consultation with the provincial organisations. The ultimate aims of the different parties may not differ very much. It is with regard to the methods of approach and the means to be adopted that differences are more likely to arise. Our guiding principle must be *orderly progress* in every department and our organisations must be multiplied and strengthened to carry on the work of propaganda effectively.

BRITAIN'S IGNORANCE OF INDIA.

Every one of the deputations which has recently gone to England has been struck with the ignorance of Indian matters which prevails in England. In addition to the work of educating the electorates, it will be necessary for us to send out deputations of competent representatives every year to England to create an interest among public men in Indian affairs and to educate public opinion there. A living and watchful interest in the administration of India on the part of the British public and Parliament is a necessary condition of the further fruition of our hopes. The eyes of the world will be fixed upon us and upon the Imperial Government and if we only make a wise use of our powers and opportunities I am sanguine enough to believe that the next instalments of reform are bound to follow quickly and as surely as noon follows dawn, I am confident that full provincial autonomy will be reached in 10 years and that a considerable measure of responsibility will be granted at the end of the first decade. The goal of full responsible government may not improbably be attained within 20 years. The Declaration of Rights of the 20th of August 1917, the Report of the Joint Committee, the Statute and the ever memorable Proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor will together constitute the Charter of our liberties and by far the most momentous Charter in our history. The fulfilment of our hopes will be mainly dependent upon our own achievement in carrying out the reforms. Let us hope that the appeal of His Majesty for co-operation will be loyally responded to alike by the officers of government and by the people and their representatives. It must be our loyal duty so to promote mutual good-will and confidence among all classes so that when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales returns to England after inaugurating the new constitution he may

(Continued on page 14.

REIGN Of TERROR IN PUNJAB.

(Continued from page 13.)

be able to report to His Majesty that his exhortation has not been in vain and that his elevating message has inspired the princes and people of India and the officers of government to enthusiastic co-operation for the fulfilment of the noble destiny that lies before this land. I trust that from this day forward India will be described as a "Dominion" and not a Dependency of the Empire and I took forward to the day when India will walk proud and erect among the nations of the earth conscious of a partnership on equal terms in the greatest Empire which the world has seen and of a right of British citizenship which will connote equal pirvileges for all members in all lands over which the British flag waves. proud of the glorious contribution she can make to the strength of the Empire. to the thought and culture of the world and to the moral forces that will tend to make this world a better and a happier one for all. May God grant us the wisdom and the enthusiasm which with high purpose and steady effort will help us to safely accomplish the journey to the goal.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

Sir B. C. Mitter, Chairman, Reception Committee, Moderate Conference, began his speech with generous words of welcome to the delegates and said:—

The 23rd day of December 1919 will alway be remembered as a red-letter day in our history—as that on which was issued the Royal Proclamation which will be cherished with the deepest affection and gratitude by the most distant generations of our people. And there will now go forth from millions of Indian homes and hearts one universal cry for the prosperity and greatness of the Empire and of its Sovereign to whose loving care our destinies have been committed..

On such an occasion as this we desire to offer our humble and loyal homage and grateful thanks to His Majesty for the deep and abiding sympathy which His Majesty himself and His Royal House from generation to generation have manifested in the wellbeing of the teeming millions of the great Empire of which he is the constituted head. We also desire at this, the earliest possible opportunity to convey to His Majesty's Government our warmest felicitations on the passing of the Bill which for the first time has introduced the beginnings of a Responsible Government and placed the full realisation of it within sight. I think I voice the sense of the majority of my countrymen when I say that the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu's name will for all time to come remain associated with this great measure. We had never faltered in our deep and abiding faith in him and the great cause which he had made his own. He has our sincerest gratitude and our warmest appreciation for the great courage, devotion and statesmanship which amidst calumny, ridicule and contumely he has throughout displayed. His name will go down to a grateful posterity linked with those of Canning and Ripon, Bright and Morley, and other great benefactors of the Indian people. In this connection we as Indians should not, amid the heat and dust of controversy, forget the debt of gratitude which we owe to His Excellency the Viceroy. He was the joint author of the Report along with Mr. Montagu. He lent to it the whole weight of the Government of India and but for this, his cordial co-operation, the measure would not have reached the stage which eventually culminated in its enactment as the law of the land, and though we differed from several of the recommendations in the despatch of the 5th of March 1919 which in our opinion had a tendency to reduce the beneficent scope of the Bill we cannot forget that His Excellency cordially accepted the amended Bill and pledged the loyal co-operation of the Government of India in carrying it out.

LORD SINHA'S SERVICES.

And what shall we say to express our deep debt of gratitude to the Right Hon. the Lord Sinha of Raipur. Speaking in Calcutta, need I mention Lord Sinha's name without calling from you your most enthusiastic applause in grateful appreciation of his devoted labours? Lord Sinha has crowned a great and remarkable career by the supreme service which he has rendered to his Motherland in the most critical period of its history. Both in the House of Lords as the Under-Secretary of State for India, and as a member of the Joint Committee of the Houses of Parliament. he has rendered the most conspicuous service to our Motherland. We desire also to express our warmest acknowledgments to Lord Selborne and his colleagues on the Joint Committee for the care and sympathetic interest and the keen insight with which the problems of India were investigated. The labours of the Southborough Committees will not be forgotten by the people of India. They travelled from one part of India to another, collected a valuable mass of evidence and made recommendations which have mainly been accepted by the Joint Committee and which form one of the most notable features of the whole scheme of Reform. Lord Southborough's tact, judgment and consumate ability made it possible for the Committees to finish their work within so short a period and it is with sorrow we notice the fact that his devotion to duty has impaired his health. Among those who have helped India in this supreme moment in her history must be mentioned the names of Sir Michael Sadler and Sir Stanley Reed who gave evidence before the Joint Committee which was very helpful to the Indian cause. Both spoke from personal knowledge and produced a profound impression on the Joint Committee. It is perhaps now an open secret that the genesis of this great measure of Reform is traceable to a Bengal Civilian—I mean Sir William Duke, and we may be permitted to express our satisfaction at the news that the mantle of Sir Thomas Holderness has fallen on him and to convey to Sir William our best wishes. It is only right and proper that we should observe in this connection that it was Mr. Curtis who first converted the dry bones of this measure into a living organism and impressed upon it that which indeed is its fundamental feature, namely the principle of dyarchy. In this statement of our personal acknowledgements, we should not omit the name of our dear friend, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, who has been described by a well-known journalist as the power behind the throne. None took a deeper interest in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme or worked more assiduously to give it a practical shape and form than Mr. Basu.

CO-OPERATION OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

And now that the Reform Bill has been passed into law, we must depend in a great measure for its success on the co-operation of the Indian Civil Service. It is a mistaken idea that the Civil Service is unwilling to co-operate with the people in the new Government that will now be unshered by the passing of the Reform Act. I am confident that the Indian Civil Servants will prove in the future, as indeed they have proved in the past that they are in truth and in theory the devoted servants of the Government under which they serve. The Indian Civil Service has never spared itself in the discharge of what it conceived to be its duty in the past, and I feel sure, that now that it has received its new mandate. ratified by the most exalted authority in the realm, His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor himself, it will not fail to conform to the new conditions and to serve the country with the same single-minded devotion to Duty which has characterised it in the past.

CLEAVAGE BETWEEN THE EXTREMISTS AND OURSELVES.

It may perhaps be necessary for a moment to advert to the circumstances which led to the cleavage between the extremists and ourselves rendering a separate organisation necessary for the effective expression of our views. For some time past, differences between the two distinct groups in the Indian National Congress were manifesting themselves. Those differences became acute over the election of Mrs. Besant as the President of the last Calcutta Congress and it was the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme which cleared the atmosphere and brought out a distinct division between the two wings of the nationalist party. On the publication of the Scheme, the extremist leaders declared that it was unworthy of their acceptance and characterised it as a mere sham. The moderates, from the very first, saw in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report the real beginnings of Responsible Government, capable of full realisation by progressive stages in no distant future. Our respective points of view were absolutely divergent. A patched-up truce would never have been of any use. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and other prominent leaders of our party realised that opportunities such as those that presented themselves do not come frequently in the life of a nation. They, therefore, felt that their supreme duty to the country demanded that they should extend to the Scheme a cordial welcome and at the same time press for improvements and modifications. Subsequent developments demonstrated the wisdom of their decision. The demands of the Extremists were extravagant. There was in the mind of many of our extremist friends a suspicion that if the whole Provincial Government was not made over at once, it would never be made over afterwards. This betrayed a distrust of the great English people. The apprehension was utterly unfounded. The progress of India towards the path to Responsible Government hitherto has been slow. probbably very slow; at times there might have been a temporary set-back; the pendulum might have swung back now and again, but it would be inconsistent with facts to deny that the march has been steady towards the progressive liberalisation of the Government. The angle of vision of the members of the extremist party was fundamentally different from ours. They looked upon the whole scheme of reform with suspicion and mistrust. We, on the other hand believed in the good faith of the illustrious authors of the Report. The demands of the extremist friends were not merely extravagant, but their reading of the message of the 20th of August 1917 was illogical. They attempted to create suspicion and distrust not merely between the Government and the people but also between the different sections of the community who inhabit India—especially between Europeans and Indians. I venture to think that for the successful working of this new measure co-operation between the new Government and the people is essential and it is equally necessary to create an atmosphere of peace, amity and goodwill.

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE.

We maintained and still maintain that we ought to co-operate with the Government whenever and wherever and oppose it only when the interests of the country so demand. In short, we believed and believe in co-operation wherever possible. The extremists do not believe in this creed. We must accept all the conditions which are necessary for the realisation of self-government within the British Empire. The tremists while professing to subscribe to the same ideal are impatient of such conditions and believe that they have a dwarfing influence over national aspirations. Gentlemen, our differences in many respects were and are of a fundamental character. They are not evanascent or personal as has been suggested in some quarters. We must therefore have a separate organisation of our own.

THE WORK OF THE MODERATE DEPUTATION.

In connection with the passing of the new Government of India Act our separate organisation has rendered the greatest service to the country. Our Conference of last year accepted the principle of the scheme and pressed for various improvements It decided to send a deputation of its own to England and in this connection I cannot be silent as to the extremely valuable services rendered by the Deputation of the Moderate Party. The Moderate Deputation urged the further liberalisation of the scheme as embodied in the original Reform Bill and many of our demands have been conceded. It is fairly well known now, at any rate the result has proved that neither the Indian nor the European extremist opinion created any impression on the Joint Committee. The Moderate Deputation on the other hand pleaded its cause with emphasis, but with sobriety and necessary restraint, never forgetting that it had a just and strong court before which it had to plead its cause. The efforts of the Moderate party have been greatly instrumental in securing for India an Act which ought to satisfy our just aspirations for the present.

ATTENDING THE CONGRESS.

It has been suggested in some quarters that we should meet and settle our differences by attending the Congress. The old Congress veterans who are familiar with the constitution of the Congress and of the All-India Congress Committee and of the details of their working realise the hollowness of the suggestion. But many of our countrymen do not realise the same. They think that attendance at the Congress is the only solution to the present situation, and not unnaturally they blame many of the Moderates for keeping away from it. There are some amongst us who insist on our having our own party organization and at the same time believe in an United Congress. As long as the Indian National Congress was a true National Assembly, i.e., as long as on the All-India Congress Committee and the Subjects Committee the Moderates and the Extremists were both adequately represented, our leaders as a body attended the Congress. But now the Congress has been turned into a party institution by the Extremists and is run on party lines. The Congress does but only register the decress of the Extremist executive bodies. If then those who are in authority in these executive bodies are really anxious to have an effective joint deliberation regarding matters which come before the Congress and if their real object is not to discredit the Moderates, the suggestions should come from them to secure substantial and adequate representations of both parties in the executive bodies of the Congress. Otherwise we, as a body, should not agree to be a party to decisions which in reality are and will be the decisions of the Extremist Party.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERVICE.

The new Act will bring about a great change. It has placed before us great opportunities for serving our country. Hitherto the Indians had no share in the actual government of the country. We were in the position of mere critics. Now a fair portion of the actual government of the country will be made over to us. We must forget to be mere critics and forget to oppose everything and propose nothing. We shall henceforth have to solve real difficulties which daily confront our present administrators. We shall be new to this task but it is highly necessary for the success of the new Government that Extremists and Moderates, Indians and Europeans, should try to co-operate with each other whenever possible and in the words of our Gracious Sovereign in His Royal Proclamation of the 23rd of December we must remember that patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries. For successful co-operation, it is necessary on the one hand to create popular opinion in favour of co-operation, for in a responsible Government the ministers must be responsive to popular opinion—on the other hand, it is equally necessary that the officials should so conduct themselves as to make proper co-operation feasible and possible.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

The European community generally were adverse to the Reform proposals and subjected them to severe and as we think sometimes extravagant criticism. But now that the verdict of both Houses of Parliament has been pronounced in no uncertain voice in favour of the new Act and now that the Government of India has pledged its loyal co-operation to make it a success, may we not hope that, as practical men, they will let bye-gones be bye-gones and co-operate with us Indians in shouldering the new responsibilities and thus ensure its success. Let us remember that in the constructive work of nation building, mere politics will not lead us on to the promised land. The importance of politics cannot indeed be over-estimated. But party politics should not be allowed to interfere with the practical problems in the nation's onward march in the paths of industrial and economic development. We must not allow the science of economics and commerce to degenerate into a game of party politics. In the past, there has been too much tendency in this direction, both amongst the British and the Indian, with the result that India has suffered herself to be exploited by foreign nations to the common detriment of Great Britain and India. In industrial matters who can help us more than the Britishers in India? And in co-operating with us in this matter will they not be advancing their own interests also?

IMMEDIATE WORK BEFORE US.

Gentlemen, we must not forget that strenuous and aruous work is still before us. And whilst we are justified in welcoming the great measure which has been passed into law, we must fully realise that we have got only the frame-work before us; the edifice is not yet complete. We must render such assistance as lies in our power to complete it.

Important rules and regulations have got to be framed yet. We must not spare ourselves in securing that they should accord with the spirit of the Act. May I not suggest for our consideration the formation of a committee of our own which will make it its business to be in close touch with the authorities charged with the duty of framing such rules and regulations and offer its hearty co-operation in the matter?

Another subject of great importance is the adjustment of financial arrangements in connection with which it is reported Lord Meston is coming out to India at an early date. In this matter also we should assume a watchful attitude and offer our services to the authorities. It may become necessary for us to consider whether it would not be advisable for us to send a small deputation again to England when the rules and regulations have been finally settled and the financial arrangements finally adjusted by the Government of India.

DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY: OUR DUTY.

There is another topic which I desire with your leave to touch upon. If we are to participate in the fruits of freedom and aspire to the position of partnership in the British Empire, we must learn to bear the burden and responsibilities which freedom imposes, viz., of defending one's own country. It is not fair and just to claim that England should undertake the defence of this country whilst we shall enjoy the powers and privileges of free and equal citizenship to which we are aspiring. We should therefore prepare ourselves gradually for this task and to that end direct our energies. If it is possible to do so, I hope the Conference will take up this matter and make its suggestions to the Government.

THE PUNJAB AFFAIR.

Let me now proceed to a topic which looms large on the public view. Whilst we must await the Report of the Hunter Committee, and we have no reasons to think that it will not come to a just verdict on the various questions that await its decisions, we cannot remain unmoved by the disclosures of the proceedings of some of the officials charged with the maintenance of law and order, e.g., as those of General Dyer and Colonel Frank Johnson. Such acts must arouse as indeed they have done both in India as well as in England a sense of universal surprise and indignation. We have condemned before now the murders of Bank managers and other crimes, committed in the Punjab and elsewhere. Nothing can palliate these crimes, and such acts must always be put down with a strong hand. We convey to the bereaved relatives our deepest sympathy and we deplore that these outrages should have been committed by Indian hands. But it is necessary at the same time to express our sense of deep indignation that we feel at the conduct of some of the officials concerned. I desire on your behalf to extend to the people of the Punjab in their affliction our deepest sympathy and to convey to them the expression of our firm resolution to stand by them and to co-operate with them in any reasonable measures that may be determined upon at the proper time to prevent a recurrence of events such as those we have witnessed. We regret the decision of the All-India Congress Sub-Committee not to place before the Hunter Committee valuable evidence which it had taken great pains to collect and for which the thanks of all of us are due to it. Its decision has deprived the Hunter Committee of materials which would have been helpful to it in settling the grave issues concerned.

We cannot but also regret the decision of the Punjab Government not to release some of the Punjab leaders now in prison during the sittings of the Committee in the Punjab. We are grateful to His Excellency that he has already set free the Punjab leaders.

WORK OF THE MODERATE DEPUTATION.

I have already mentioned in general terms the great services which the Moderate deputation rendered to the cause of the Reforms. It also tried to secure for the Punjab searching public enquiry over the Punjab affairs and a general amnesty to political prisoners. It succeeded in its efforts with regard to the first immediately. The second object which it had in view has now been attoned through Royal clemency.

More than 12 years ago the great Gopal Krishna Gokhale in his memorable speech at Allahabad observed as follows:—

"I recognise no limits to my aspirations for my motherland. I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs. I want our men and women without distinction of caste or creed to have opportunities to grow to the full height of their sfature, unhampered by cramping and unnatural restrictions. I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, politically, industrially, in religion, in literature, in science and in arts. I want all this and feel at the same time that the whole of this aspiration can in its essence and in its reality be realised within the Empire.'

OUR METHODS.

This indeed is a noble idea which will appeal to the hearts of all patriotic Indians. The impatient idealists who doubted those prophetic words of wisdom of one of India's greatest sons declaring that within the British Empire and by constitutional methods we can attain to the full heights of our stature must stand discredited to-day. The great ideal of the illustrious patriot has now been placed on the road to realization by the new Reform Act and the Proclamation of our Gracious Sovereign. Step by step and stage by stage we shall develop those qualities and those gifts which are ours and which will make us the equal citizens of the greatest Empire of the world.

It now rests with us to make or mar our future. If by solid work we can ensure the successful administration of the departments that will be committed to us is it conceivable that England can ever forget her duty to us? What have been her past traditions? England throughout her long and glorious history has always the champion of freedom and the protecteor of oppressed nationalities. England supported Italy in her struggle for unity and independence. Englishmen shed their blood to secure for Greece her long lost freedom. Look upon more modern events and more recent times. The Boers were crushed in their struggle against England. The two South African Republics lay prostrate at the feet of Britain. What was her conduct? She wiped from their brow the stigma of defeat and gave them self-government and ample has been England's reward. Rebellious foes have been converted into staunch supporters of her imperial system. And finally remember what she did for Belgium. To be a component part of the Empire of which England is the centre seems to me to be the guarantee of our progressive advance to the full measure of that imperial citizenship of which civic freedom is the watchword. If we secure such freedom in association with the British Empire it will rest on a rock of adamant impervious to the ravages of time and vicissitudes of fortune.

But it is obvious that the glowing prospect which I have presented is possible of attainment only on one condition, namely, tha we do qualify ourselves to the fullest extent by our patriotism, by our self-sacrifice, by our self-restraint and by our moderation. We must now address ourselves to real solid hard work in which the spirit of co-operation shall be the predominant note. We must vindicate our capacity by deeds and not by words. For the next ten years we shall be on our trial. The eyes of the whole world will be on us, and we shall be tested not by our powers of agitation but by our capacity for work and let me say this, that if we of the Moderate Party find that we have come out of the ordeal satisfactorily and that yet a further stage is delayed or unreasonably postponed we shall be the first to lead the agitation by all the constitutional methods that may be open to us for the attainment of what has been promised and what constitutes our right. We shall not flinch or falter but lead the vanguard in this noble task. But I have no doubts in my mind. England, true to herself, will redeem her pledges and lead us on to the full measure of self-government.

Once again I accord you a hearty welcome and invite you to elect your President.

INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

SUCCESSFUL SESSION AT AMRITSAR

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

AMRITSAR, Dec. 30.

This year's Indian National Social Conference, under the presidency of Lala Hansraj, was a great success. The chief feature of the Conference proceedings was the widening scope of the Conference on the lines suggested by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, who would have been present himself, but for illness in his family.

SIR NARAYAN'S MESSAGE.

In his message, which was well received at the Conference, Sir Narayan said the Social Conference at Amritsar this year will be held at an epoch-making period in the history of this ancient land. A new era throbbing with aspirations of higher life of union and achievement is dawning upon us, or has already dawned of the many signs of that new life, none is more marked than the spirit of patriotism and nationality and of the service to Motherland and sacrifice in her cause, which have more or less diffused itself among all classes and communities. It is easy to exaggerate the extent and character of that diffusion. Whatever the extent or the character there is an awakened conscience and awakened consciousness of higher life in the country. The fact is after nearly a century of political and social work we have arrived at that stage in the line of our progress when we are able to perceive most clearly what our social reform is, the whole of which political, educational, industrial, etc., are but parts, and that these parties are inter-active and inter-dependent.

SCOPE OF SOCIAL REFORM.

The time has come for us, social reformers and workers, to enlarge the meaning and the scope of social reform, and extend our activty outlook to the questions of education of masses, sanitation of the country, the housing of the poor, care of the sick and feeble, the employment of labour on rational lines, the provision of healthy recreation, the amusement for masses, village sanitation, and rural education. Instead of confining social reform as hitherto to female education, widow re-marriage, removal of caste restrictions and such other items, by so enlarging the scope of social reform, we shall not be trenching upon the sphere of political bodies or purely industrial and economic organisation or sanitary institutions, provided we adhere faithfully to, and keep prominently before us the distinguishing aim of the Conference which is to touch, purify, elevate and invigorate the political, industrial and municipal life of the country, by developing its domestic and social forces which are the feeders and makers of that life. It is said we live in times of democracy when the age calls for equality of opportunity for all—the high and low, the rich and poor. Democracy is more a social than a political force, and must find to be healthy, its life first in our home life and social life, to make our political and industrial life wholesome.

The following is the full text of the resolution based on Sir Narayan's message moved ably by Mr. K. Natarajan and supported by Mrs. Avantibai Gokhale and Dr. Satyapal. The resolution runs as under:—

WIDENING MEANING OF "SOCIAL REFORM."

"That this Social Conference recognizing the fresh life opened out to the country by the new era upon which it is entering and the urgent call that fresh life makes for the social reconstruction of India's national life, is of opinion that the terms social reform should be widened so as to comprehend besides the items of reform hitherto advocated by the Conference those additional measures which are necessary for the development of the industrial, economic, sanitary, and educational interests of the Indian people in rural and urban areas, and towards that end the Conference resolves that an All-India Council of the Social Conference, consisting of about 100 willing workers all over the country, be formed and the General Secretary in Bombay and other Secretaries of the National Social Conference with the help of the Provincial Secretaries newly appointed be empowered to move in that matter to concert measures for the propagandist and practical work all over the country and in that behalf to collect the necessary funds and take such steps as may be deemed useful in furtherance of the specific object."

STERLING DRAFTS ON LONDON.

A Press Communiqué issued by the Controller of Currency, states as under:—

"It is notified that owing to Thursday, the 1st January, 1920, being a holiday, applications for Sterling Drafts on London will be received by the undersigned up to noon on Friday, the 2nd of January, 1920."

ALL-INDIA M... EDUCATION...

IMPORTANT ,R...

(ASSOCIAT...

Yesterday's proc... Mahomedans Ed... gan with an U... Ghulam Sheik ... liant poet of Dr... medan national ... lating to the de... Ando Shah, the ... scholarships for ... study of Persian ... tion of Persian ... vernacular train... arrangement of ... tion at Poona, ... ment of a Mah... Principal at the ... abad, a substan... recurring gra... in Sind, the cl... arrangements ... special Mahor... exist with h... provision of ni... schools as re... supply of to... unanimously l...

A telegram ... Bombay, conv... read amidst ... Agent, Khairp... who has all a ... with the work ... ence, was pre... ladies. The e... a lecture on Is... Ashraf of Alig...

MOSLEM... ED...

The female sectio... with Syed Mumt... a meeting at night ... gathering and lively ... A very strong cas... couraging female ... classes of the Mu...

THE PRO... CO...

The Provincial ... met in the same ... presidency of ... "Paisa Akhb...

PROPOS...

To-day's ... medan Ed... sitting p... appointm... Sindh L... tee, and ... carrying ... ted to G... Moslem Edu... 1913, and its ... body to mak... of Moslem educatio... time, the arrange... Moslem girls in Sin... ed out in consultat... educated Moslems ... ernment for the p... scholarships on a n... training of lady te... of the curriculum ... bring them gradua... local board schools ... professional industr... expediting measure... of the Moslem Uni... also unanimously p... pressing its gratifi... ment of the Hon. ... Member of Educati... Council.

Telegrams of greet... Ibrahim Rahimtulla ... Haroon Jaffar, were ... from Moulvi Nizam... now offering a schola... ly tenable at Aligar... Khairpur.

The Registrar of ... sity, Hyderabad De... ture giving the detail... of the various depar... sity.

ESTABLISHMENT O... BRAN...

The Conference agai... noon when a resolutio... passed approving the ... provincial branch of t... medan Educational Co... with the Vazir of Kh... desband Mir Ayub K... secretary.

The session of the ... day.

RECOGNITIO... SERV...

PRIME MINISTE... HONORA...

(ASSOCIAT...

It is officially a... perial Majesty the ... graciously pleased ... nant-General his... Sir Chandra Shu... Rasa, G.C.B., C... Minister and Mad... rary rank of Gen... ther as a mark p... invaluable aid rs... pire by the Gen... the great war ea... to create his n... Knight Grand ... Michael and S...

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NOW WORTH WORKING FOR.

Just at the present time you are faced with certain definite problems, risi ng, expenses, labour, shortage, untrained travellers etc. All these problems call for practial an d immediate attention

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STEAMER RESCUES BURMESE FISHERMAN.
NINE DAYS WITHOUT FOOD OR WATER.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

RANGOON, Dec. 29.

The steamer Bulimba has brought to Rangoon a Burman, who was picked up at sea, 160 miles from Port, in a *sampan*. His story is that he is a resident of the Pyapon district, and on the 14th of December left in a *sampan* to buy salt fish at a place lower down the river, and being caught in a squall was blown out to sea. When found, he was lying in the bottom of the *sampan* helpless, having been nine days without food or water and having abandoned hope of rescue. He had evidently drunk some sea water which made him delirious. He has been sent to his native village.

RISING RENTS AND LAND VALUES IN CALCUTTA.
MEASURES TO CASE THE SITUATION.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

The Calcutta Trades Association have expressed their opinion to the Secretary, Calcutta Rent Committee, on the rise in rents and land values in Calcutta. In their opinion the causes of high rents and high land values are (1) lack of outlets, (2) imperfect system of communications and (3) scarcity of suitable areas for residential or industrial development. They urge the establishment of a development board to enquire into, and lay down a policy on which the development and extension of the port and town of Calcutta shall proceed. The Association suggest (1) that the legislature should immediately impose control of rents pending the formation of a development board and the passing of the long promised Town-Planning Act, (2) that measures should be taken by Government for the housing of Government servants, (3) that the legislature should give power to both the Municipality and the Improvement Trust to secure and hold land for general housing and industrial purposes and (4) that the principle of public utility companies (tenant co-partnership) should be encouraged and helped in connection with public land.

CHEAP GRAIN SHOP.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—I hear that the Controller of Bombay is going to close a certain number of Cheap Grain shops in Bombay city owing to their mismanagement. But I do not understand the reasons why Government deprives the public of the facilities which were given before.

I am surprised to learn further that the Cheap Grain shops which were specially managed by the vigilent and honoured (by Government) Secretary of the People's Union, Bombay, Mr. S. K. Bole are to be closed from the 1st of Jnuary 1920.

Will any of your readers enlighten me on the causes why Government want to close these shops particularly?—Yours, etc.,
"OBSCURITY."

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TO ALL CONCERNED IN SECOND HAND MACHINERY
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Special Liquour Brandy ...	@ Rs 6-8
XXX Heart Labelled	„ „ 4-8
Fine Old Glenlivet Whiskey ..	„ „ 4-10
Best Flowery Orange Pekoe Tea a tin	„ „ 2-8
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New Shipment received:
PETER WALKER BEER (*English*).
Bottles at Rs—/13/—each.
Pints at Rs.—/9/—each.
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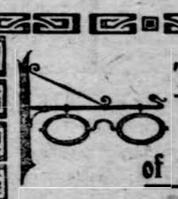

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When your eyes need help you want, above all, practical experience applied to your needs.

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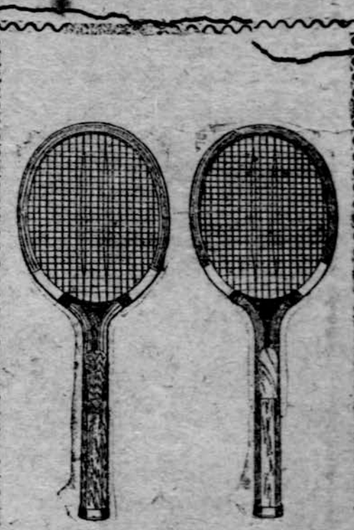

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DEPOSITS are received for 12 months and shorter periods. Rates on application.

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DAMAGE BY RATS.

Vide the "Times of India" of October 2nd, 1919.

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Indian Motoring (supplement to "The Times of India") December 17th, 1919.

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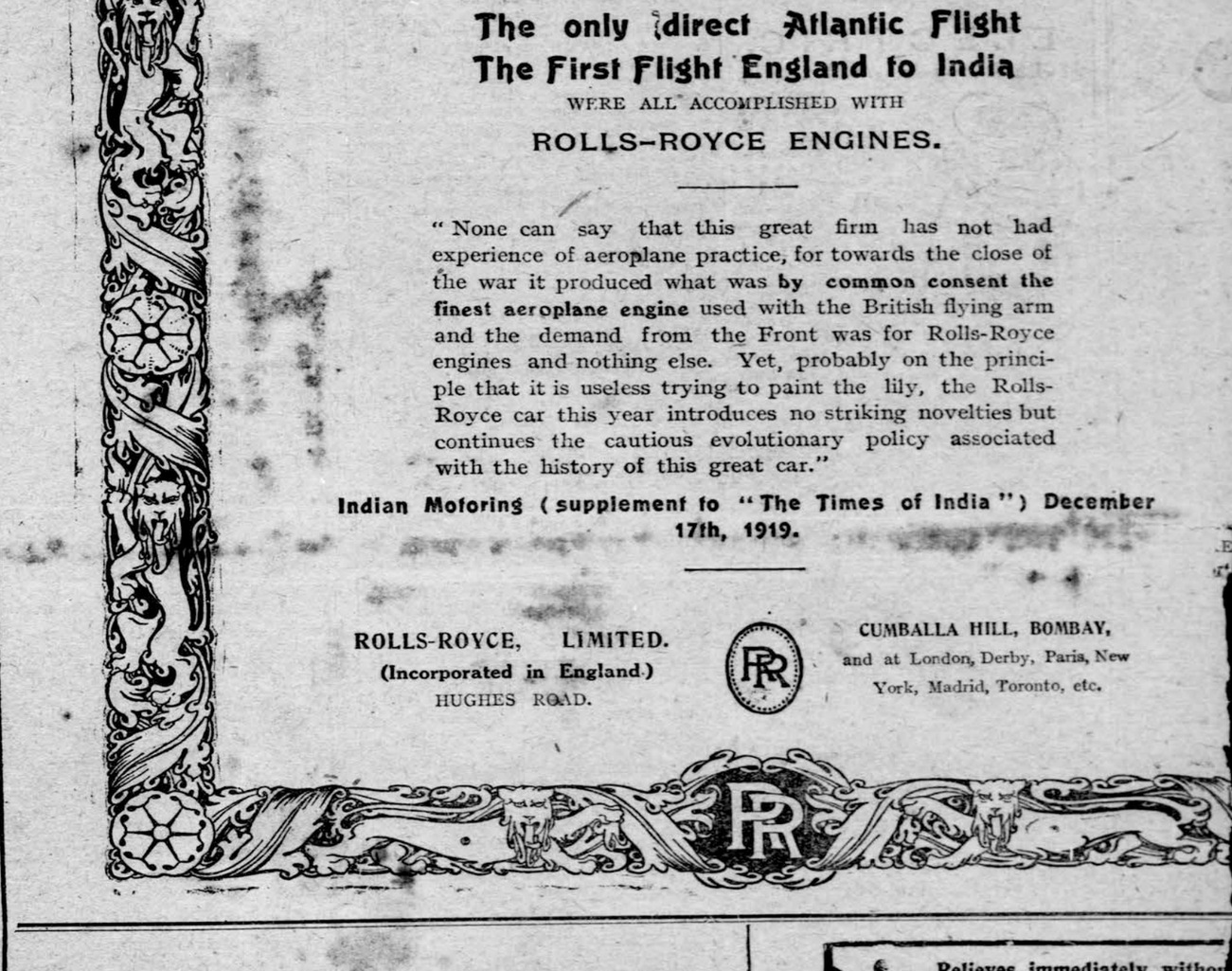

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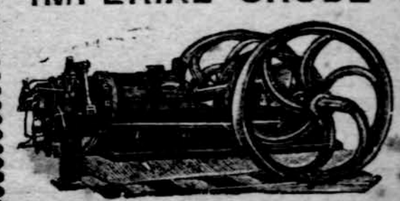

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